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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE:

THE PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

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Description

This paper is a description of the type of control established by the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia. It discusses the establishment of and the legal basis for the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. It deals with the system of controls in the political, military, and economic spheres.

3 November 1944

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This study is Part Three, Section Three, I, of the series

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

the outline of which is as follows:

Part One. Principles and Methods of German Military Government over Europe

Part Two. German Controls in Occupied Europe

I. The German Army in Occupied Europe
II. The SS and Police in Occupied Europe
III. Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Europe
IV. The Nazi Party in Occupied Europe
V. Technical and Economic Troops in Occupied Europe
VI. Economic and Financial Controls in Occupied Europe
VII. Labor Controls in Occupied Europe
VIII. Propaganda in Occupied Europe

Part Three. The German Occupation of Individual Regions

Section One. Areas of Military Administration

I. Belgium
II. France
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Section Two. Areas of Civil Administration

I. The Netherlands
II. Norway
III. Ostland and the Ukraine

Section Three. Appended Territories (Nebenländer)

*I. The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia
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Section Four. Satellite States

I. Albania
II. Denmark
III. Italy
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I. THE PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

A. INTRODUCTION

1. The Dismemberment of the Czechoslovak Republic

The Czechoslovak Republic comprised **four** provinces: Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia. It had a population of 15,000,000, of whom 7,000,000 were Czechs, 3,250,000 Germans, about 3,000,000 Slovaks, 1,000,000 Hungarians, and 750,000 Ruthenians. Between October 1938 and March 1939, Czechoslovakia was in successive steps dismembered into four separate units, each under a different administration: the Sudetenland, incorporated in the Reich in October 1938;[1] the southern districts of Slovakia and the province of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, acquired by and fully integrated into Hungary in November 1938 and March 1939; Slovakia, an "independent" state under German protection; and the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia.

2. The Establishment of the Protectorate

The events immediately preceding and precipitating the occupation of Bohemia-Moravia were the secession of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia from the Czechoslovak state on 14 March 1939. The same day the president of the Republic, Emil Hácha, was summoned to Berlin, and after a night-long session with the Führer signed an agreement calling for the occupation of the remaining parts of Czechoslovakia "in order to preserve peace and maintain order there." Even prior to Hácha's arrival in Berlin, and without previous notice, German troops began the occupation of frontier districts. The occupation met with only isolated local resistance and was completed on 15 March. On that day, German troops entered Prague at 9 a.m. accompanied by the German secret police and some government officials. Before noon all strategic offices and the radio station were in German hands, and the round-up of "subversive" elements was well under way. The Führer himself arrived in Prague the same evening.

---

[1] After the separation of the Sudetenland Czechoslovakia was spelt with a hyphen (Czecho-Slovakia) to indicate the greater degree of autonomy granted to Slovakia.

3. The Legal Status of the Protectorate

On 16 March 1939 the Führer issued a decree concerning the establishment and the legal foundations of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. The basic decree is preceded by an introduction justifying the occupation of Bohemia-Moravia by German troops.[1] It is claimed that this territory had been part of the German *Lebensraum* for a thousand years, and that the Reich, in the interest of its own security, could not permit any disturbances in this territory. It concludes by saying:

> Filled with the earnest desire to serve the true interests of the peoples living in this *Lebensraum*, to make secure the national life of the German and the Czech people, and to assure peace and social well-being, I hereby order, in the name of the German Reich, as the basis for the future common life of the inhabitants of this territory, the following:
>
> Article 1. 1) The parts of the former Czechoslovak Republic occupied by German troops in March 1939 from now on belong to the territory of the Greater German Reich, and, as "The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia," are placed under its protection.
>
> 2) Insofar as the defense of the Reich requires, the Führer and Reichskanzler may issue orders changing this.

---

[1] *RGBl.*, I, 485, 16 March 1939. For German text see Appendix I.

Article 2. 1) The inhabitants of the Protectorate who are of German race become German nationals (Staatsangehörige) and, according to the provisions of the Reich Citizenship Law of 16 September 1935, Reich citizens (Reichsbürger). From now on, the laws for the protection of German blood and German honor are also valid for them. They come under the jurisdiction of German courts.

2) The other inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia become nationals of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia (Protektoratsangehörige).

Article 3. 1) The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia is autonomous and governs itself.

2) It exercises the sovereign rights belonging to it within the scope of the Protectorate in full accord with the political, military, and economic needs of the Reich.

3) These sovereign rights are exercised through its own organs and its own offices with its own officials.

Article 4. The chief of the autonomous administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia enjoys the protection and the honors accorded to the head of a state. For the exercise of his office, the head of the Protectorate must have the confidence of the Führer and Reichskanzler.

Article 5. 1) The Führer and Reichskanzler appoints a "Reichsprotektor in Bohemia-Moravia," as defender of the interests of the Reich. His official seat is Prague.

2) As representative of the Führer and Reichskanzler, and as delegate of the Reich government, the Reichsprotektor has the duty of carrying out the political directives of the Führer and Reichskanzler.

3) The members of the Protectorate government must be approved by the Reichsprotektor. His approval may be withdrawn at any time.

4) The Reichsprotektor is entitled to be informed about all measures taken by the Protectorate government and to give advice to that government. He can refuse to accept any measures which may harm the Reich, and, in urgent cases, he himself can issue the necessary orders dictated by the common interest.

5) If the Reichsprotektor intervenes in such a case, the relevant laws, orders, other legal measures, administrative measures, and court decisions become invalid.

Article 6. 1) The foreign affairs of the Protectorate, in particular the protection of its nationals abroad, are handled by the Reich. The Reich will direct these foreign affairs as required by the common interest.

2) The Protectorate maintains a representative to the Reich government with the official title of "Minister."

Article 7. 1) The Reich is responsible for the military protection of the Protectorate.

2) In carrying out this protection, the Reich may maintain garrisons and military centers in the Protectorate.

3) The Protectorate may establish its own units for the maintenance of internal security. The organization, strength, and armament of these units will be defined by the Reich government.

Article 8. The Reich has direct supervision of transportation and communications in the Protectorate.

Article 9. The Protectorate belongs to the customs territory of the German Reich and is under its customs sovereignty.

Article 10. 1) Along with the Reichsmark, the crown is also legal tender until further notice.

2) The relation between the two currencies will be fixed by the Reich Government.

Article 11. 1) The Reich is entitled to issue laws valid for the Protectorate, insofar as the common interest requires.

2) Insofar as there is a common need, the Reich is entitled to take over into its own administration any administrative branch and to establish the necessary Reich offices for such branch.

3) The Reich Government is entitled to take all necessary measures for the maintenance of security and order.[1]

Article 12. The laws at present valid in Bohemia-Moravia remain in effect, insofar as they are not contrary to the meaning of the assumption of protection by the German Reich.

Article 13. The Reich Minister of the Interior, in accord with the interested Reich Ministers, issues the necessary legal and administrative measures for carrying out the present decree.

Established on the basis of this law the Protectorate was considered by the Nazis to be an original creation of National Socialist political theory. Czechoslovakia had ceased to exist as a sovereign state under international law; the Protectorate, thus, had no independent foreign relations either in the political or in the economic field. It is a part of the Greater German Reich, and is regulated exclusively by German municipal law. Sovereignty over the Protectorate rested with the Reich, represented by the Führer.

Although the integration of the Protectorate with the Reich was in many respects complete (the Protectorate formed a Wehrkreis, and as such a regional economic unit of the Reich, and was also an SS Oberabschnitt), its administration did not fully conform to the types of the Reichsgau or Länder, as they exist in the Reich, nor was it duplicated in any of the German occupied territories. The most distinctive aspects of the Protectorate administration were: (1) the concentration of power in the hands of the German Minister of State for Bohemia and Moravia (Deutscher Staatsminister für Böhmen und Mähren), who controls all government offices and officials with the exception of the Wehrmacht; and (2) the existence under this Minister of both a German and a Czech administration, of which the latter is termed autonomous and is entrusted with legislative powers, but in effect is supervised by the former. In this manner the Germans set up an indirect system of controls; they retained the native administrative organs to perform basic functions and attempted gradually to adapt them to the German governmental system in order ultimately to incorporate the Protectorate as a full-fledged administrative unit of the Reich.

---

[1] Outstanding examples of such "necessary measures" are the two periods when a "state of civil emergency" was declared, in September 1941 and May-June 1942.

B. ADMINISTRATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

For one month, between 15 March and 16 April 1939, a military administration ruled over the Protectorate.

The administration was divided between Army Group III in Prague and Army Group V in Brünn. The former had jurisdiction over the province of Bohemia and also over all matters affecting the central government and the territory as a whole; the latter had authority over the province of Moravia. Each of these Groups had both a military commander (Befehlshaber) and, under him, a Chief of the Civil Administration (Chef der Zivilverwaltung). The Chiefs of the Civil Administration were: for Army Group III, Konrad Henlein, Gauleiter of the Sudetenland and formerly leader of the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia; for Army Group V, Kurt von Burgsdorff, later Undersecretary of State in the Reichsprotektor's office. The Chiefs of the Civil Administration were responsible for all matters not of a military nature. They acted as liaison officers between the local authorities and the army, approved laws issued by the autonomous government, were entrusted with the liquidation of certain organizations, took charge of all matters affecting German nationals in the Protectorate and, in fact, generally carried out the functions later to be handled by the Reichsprotektor's office. They also issued some temporary regulations, pending final settlement of certain matters -- e.g., an injunction against the transfer of Jewish real estate.

Under the Chiefs of the Civil Administration, the nineteen Oberlandräte, who were later to function as direct local representatives of the Reichsprotektor, carried out similar duties in the lower civil administration.

Each principal military command also had an Economic

Section (Wirtschaftssektion), headed by a Special Representative of the Army Group (Sonderbevollmächtigter der Armeegruppe). It is likely that this Section was a subdivision of the office of the Chief of the Civil Administration. It operated principally through the national or local business associations, such as the Central Association of Industry (Zentralverband der Industrie), but could also be approached directly by individual businessmen in urgent cases. It was probably in charge of the disposition of Czechoslovak army stores and other stocks which were shipped to Germany in large quantities during the period of military occupation. One of its functions was to assure the flow of essential raw materials from abroad to Czech industry.

Certain special functions were allotted to the Gestapo, particularly the granting of permits to leave the country. For the first few days of the occupation, the army also issued some permits, but by about 20 March this function had been transferred entirely to the Einsatzkommando of the Gestapo, which maintained offices for this purpose in Prague, Budějovice, Kolín, Pardubice, and Pilsen.

With the exception of the functions specifically assigned to the German military and civil commanders and the Gestapo, as set forth above, the local Czech officials continued to function more or less normally. Certain regulations -- e.g., one limiting bank withdrawals during the emergency period -- were issued by the Czech ministries and municipalities "in accord with the executives of the Civil Administration of the Army Groups III and V." Laws and decrees were published "with the approval of the possessor of executive power" (i.e., the Supreme Commander of the Army).1/ It is not quite clear just how this process

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1/ Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen in Böhmen und Mähren, hereafter referred to as Sammlung. All laws published from 15 March to 16 April 1939 carry this phrase in the preamble.

operated. Probably many measures were simply handed to the government ready for publication, but some of lesser import may have been initiated by Czech officials and then sent to the Chief of the Civil Administration for approval before publication. It is known that the Czech Government refused to promulgate the basic anti-Jewish laws demanded by the German Government -- they were finally promulgated by the Reichsprotektor in June 1939 -- but whether this refusal occurred during the period of military government or after the civil government took over is not clear.

The German Army was responsible for the maintenance of order, but the execution of this responsibility was chiefly in the hands of the Czech Police, under the command of a few German Army and Police officers. The supervision of foreigners, which was later (September 1939) placed under the control of German officials, remained in the hands of the Czech Police during the military occupation. (Germans, whether Reich citizens or Volksdeutsche, were, however, no longer considered as "foreigners"; many anti-Nazi German refugees, caught by the rapidity of the occupation, were arrested by the Gestapo during this period.) Police and judicial action pending against German nationals was suspended by order of the Chief of the Civil Administration, "except for urgent cases affecting the public safety," until the basic law defining the jurisdiction of German courts in the Protectorate was issued (14 April 1939). Arrests were made by both Czech and German police. Many of the arrests were "preventive," evidently based on a list prepared in advance. Others were made on the recommendation of local Volksdeutsche and Czech fascists, who also had prepared lists -- some of them based on mere personal antagonisms. A considerable number of the prisoners were released a few days later. Some were even frankly told that their arrests had been a mistake.

The handling of business firms during the period of military occupation presents a rather confused picture. At first no legal provisions existed for placing administrators in charge of business undertakings. Certain native fascist groups and individuals took it upon themselves to take charge of various firms and offices run by Jews and/or "political enemies." Both the German Army Command and the Czech authorities issued strong warnings against this unauthorized free-booting. The Supreme Commander of the Army published a decree on 21 March 1939 stating: "As possessor of executive power, I forbid the encroachment of individuals and organizations _of the Protectorate_ on the administration, the associations (_Vereinswesen_) and the economy of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. Contraventions will be punished."[1] Czech municipal and central authorities issued similar statements which were prominently displayed in the newspapers. At the same time the Protectorate government passed a law giving the competent ministries the right to appoint commissars in business undertakings "where the public interest requires it."[2]

Nothing is said in these statements regarding _German_ individuals or organizations encroaching on the economy of the Protectorate. German commissars took charge in a number of offices, especially banks, during the first days of the occupation. In some cases they were Sudeten German employees of the firm who suddenly appeared armed with full powers of administration. Some of them were apparently appointed on a rather tenuous legal basis, for a later decree setting forth the powers of German officials to appoint commissars for Jewish firms and organizations was made retroactive, with an express provision that "commissars already appointed by the Oberlandräte are to be considered as legally appointed under the present law."1/

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[1] _VBlRProt_., p. 11.

[2] _Sammlung_, 21 March 1939, effective 1 April 1939; a similar law for cooperatives (except cooperative banks) was issued on 6 April 1939.

When the period of military government was terminated on 16 April 1939, and full powers handed over to the Reichsprotektor, some of the measures taken by the Chiefs of the Civil Administration remained in effect until specifically cancelled by new decrees. This was true, e.g., of the injunction against the transfer of Jewish real estate, cancelled by a provision in the Reichsprotektor's decree of June 1939.2/ Provisions for liquidating certain types of organizations also remained in effect until the powers exercised by the Chief of the Civil Administration in this respect were formally transferred to the Reichsprotektor.3/ The special decrees of 15 March concerning criminal law during the period of military occupation and the establishment of special courts were specifically cancelled as of 16 April.4/ However, purely military measures were automatically cancelled without specific reference upon the withdrawal of the army administration.

1/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 45, 21 June 1939, retroactive to 15 March 1939.
2/ Ibid.
3/ RGBl., 1939, I, 1012, 13 June 1939.
4/ RGBl., 1939, I, 893, 27 April 1939.

C. THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROTECTORATE

1. General Characteristics

The brief period of military government was followed by the establishment of civil administration. During the five years of civil administration in the Protectorate several changes were introduced before the final form of government was established. The changes involved (a) the transfer of some administrative functions from German to Czech offices, (b) the functional reorganization of the German administration, (c) the gradual adaptation of the Czech administration to the German pattern.

The system of controls over and in the Protectorate ultimately presented the following picture. The Führer was represented by the Reichsprotektor in the capacity of head of the state; once a powerful figure the Reichsprotektor became later only the titular head of the government. Executive power was concentrated in the hands of the German Minister of State who was the representative of the Reich Government in the Protectorate. He received orders from the Central Office for the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (Zentralstelle für das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren) in the Reich Ministry of Interior, which operated in conjunction with the other competent Reich Ministeries. The German Minister of State had a position similar to that of the Reich Governor in the Reichsgaue, but, while the latter was the political and administrative head of the Gau, the German Minister of State in the Protectorate controlled also the Police as the Senior SS and Police official. He was thus the superior of all government authorities with the exception of the Wehrmacht. The operative organs of the Minister on the national level were the German Ministry of State at Prague, and attached special delegates, and on the regional level the Oberlandräte. The German administration performed three tasks: (a) it directly controlled the German population of the Protectorate; (b) it performed administrative tasks taken over by the Reich; (c) it supervised the Czech administration.

Under the supervision of the German authorities an "autonomous" Czech administration with a state president and a cabinet at its head was in operation. The Czech administration was in charge of all matters not directly handled by the Reich, and in some instances it performed delegated functions on behalf of the Reich. Its primary function was to exercise control over the Czech population. The Czech administration issued legislation, but had freedom of action only within the limits allotted to it by the German authorities. It had very little initiative and every measure undertaken by it had to receive the approval of the German Minister of State before being put in practice.

Full control over the Czech administration was attained not only through supervision but also through infiltration of German officials into Czech administrative offices. Thus, in the Czech Cabinet, for example, SS Obergruppenführer Walter Bertsch sat as Minister of Economy and Labor. Full and effective control was insured in the Czech provincial administration (Landesbehörden) by the presence of Germans as vice presidents (Pfitzner, who was also vice mayor of Prague in Bohemia; Schwabe in Moravia). On the district level Germans served as Bezirkshauptmänner in a number of political districts; as vice mayors or as mayors (Judex in Brünn) in the cities with special statutes.

2. The German Administration in the Protectorate

a. The Reichsprotektor

The office was at first held by Konstantin Freiherr von Neurath who was inaugurated on 16 April 1939. He continued to hold the title until 20 August 1943, although he was actually relieved of his duties in September 1941. The position was then filled by Reinhard Heydrich, until his assassination in May 1942, and subsequently by Kurt Daluege, each with the title of Deputy Reichsprotektor.

Since both Heydrich and Daluege held important offices elsewhere, the actual functions were carried out by the Permanent Deputy of the Reichsprotektor and Secretary of State, SS Obergruppenführer Karl Hermann Frank. On 20 August 1943 the actual situation was legalized by the creation of the post of Minister of State for Bohemia and Moravia, to whom were passed all but the very nominal functions of the Reichsprotektor.1/ The later Reichsprotektor, Wilhelm Frick, former Reich Minister of Interior, retained only the following powers: 1) the approval of nominations to the autonomous Czech Cabinet (the rest of German supervision over the Czech administration having fallen to the Minister of State); 2) the appointment and dismissal of German officials in the Protectorate (the actual supervision of their activities being exercised by the Minister of State); 3) the right to grant pardons and to quash legal decisions of German courts.

b. The German Minister of State

The position was filled by SS Obergruppenführer Karl Hermann Frank, former member of the Henlein Party and one of the most active Nazis in the Protectorate. His powers were almost unlimited. He was the executive head of the German administration. Every German government agency with the exception of the Army was directly responsible to him. Furthermore, he exercised complete control over the Czech administration. Every legislative measure of the autonomous government was subject to his approval; he could

---

1/ RGBl., I, 527, 20 August 1943.

direct the government to issue certain legislation and he could cancel or veto any measure taken by any Czech administrative organ or court.

c. The German Ministry of State

The creation of the German Ministry of State in November 1943 to serve as the operational organ of the Minister completed the transfer of power from the hands of the Reichsprotektor to the Minister of State.[1]

The Ministry was divided into nine functional departments. In addition it had a number of special liaison officers attached to Czech administrative offices. These offices and departments were:

Central Office

1. Office of the Minister

   Attached to this office: Liaison Officer of the Reich Labor Service

2. Central Administration
   - a) General Services
   - b) Budget
   - c) Personnel Questions
   - d) Finance (Oberkasse)
   - e) Testing Office (Vorprüfstelle)
3. Comptroller's Office (Oberste Rechnungskontrolle)

Department I: Ordinary and Internal Administration

1. Reich supervision of the ordinary and internal administration of the Protectorate, including the Reichsauftragsverwaltung (except health and veterinary affairs); matters concerning the state sovereignty of the Reich; space planning (Raumordnung), archives, sport
2. Matters concerning the defense of the Reich
3. Reich supervision of health services in the Protectorate; German health services
4. Reich supervision of veterinary matters in the Protectorate; questions concerning the German Veterinary Chamber

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[1] VBlBM., p. 147, 4 November 1943.

5. Youth

6. Universities

Also attached to Dept. I: Trustee for Organizations

Department II: Justice

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate criminal law and procedure (Strafjustiz); German criminal law and procedure

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate civil law and procedure (Ziviljustiz); German civil law and procedure

3. Justicialrat

Department III: Schools

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate school administration and cultural affairs; German Academy of Science

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate schools, including normal schools; Reich supervision of popular education and science in the Protectorate

Department IV: Cultural Policy (Kulturpolitik)

1. Ordinary cultural affairs, literature, theater and film, music and plastic arts; questions concerning the Reich Chamber of Culture

2. Propaganda

3. Press

4. Radio

Department V: Economics and Labor

1. Reich supervision of economic administration in the Protectorate, including banks and currency

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate labor administration

3. Reich supervision of Protectorate price policy

4. Reich supervision of Protectorate forest economy

Also attached to Dept. V: Central Office for Public Contracts; Liaison Office to the Trade Unions

Department VI: Food Supply and Agriculture

1. Reich supervision of agriculture and agricultural products

2. Reich supervision of food supply and public consumption needs (öffentliche Bedarfsdeckung)

3. Reich supervision of agricultural training, finance and cooperatives, and the Union of Agriculture and Forestry

Department VII: Finance

1. Reich supervision of the Protectorate financial administration

2. Administration of customs, excise taxes, and Reich monopolies

3. Reich property administration

Department VIII: Transport and Technics

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate transport

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate technical administration

3. Trustee for Local Transport

4. Trustee for Waterways

5. Administration of Construction (Hochbau) and of the buildings belonging to the Reich
   Also attached to Dept. VIII: Delegate of the Reich Civil Aviation Administration; Delegate of the Central Office for Generators

Department IX: Communications and Mails

1. Reich supervision of Protectorate communications

2. Reich supervision of Protectorate mail service

3. German Official Mail (Deutsche Dienstpost)

Also under the Ministry of State:

Commander of Order Police

1. Reich supervision of uniformed Protectorate Police and Protectorate Administrative Police, except those functions which come under the Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service

2. Air-raid precautions and Technische Nothilfe

Commander of Security Police and Security Service

1. Reich supervision of non-uniformed Protectorate Police and certain functions of the Protectorate Administrative Police

2. Matters concerning Reich Administrative Police

The Oberlandräte, in their capacity as Inspectors of the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia

d. The German Administration on the Regional Level

(1) The Oberlandräte

The German administration on the regional level was represented by Oberlandräte, who were at first responsible to the Reichsprotektor, but later became responsible to the Minister of State.

Until May 1942 the Protectorate was divided into fifteen Oberlandratsgebiete, each including from four to eight political districts. The Oberlandräte performed on the regional level essentially the same functions as did the Reichsprotektor on the national level. In May 1942 a thorough reorganization of the administration on the regional level took place. The fifteen Oberlandratsgebiete were reduced to seven with seats located in Prague (Praha), Pilsen (Plzeň), Kladno, Budějovice, Brünn (Brno), Moravska Ostrava, and Jihlava. At the same time the functions of the Oberlandräte were modified. All their administrative duties were transferred to corresponding Czech civil or police authorities (see below), and they remained exclusively in the capacity of supervisory organs in behalf of the Minister of State.

(2) The Reichsauftragsverwaltungen

By a decree of the Reichsprotektor of 23 May 1942 the administrative functions of the Oberlandräte and some of the administrative functions of the Reichsprotektor were delegated to the Czech authorities.1/ The decree states that the functions of the Reichsprotektor and of the Oberlandräte performed in the rest of the Reich by Higher Administrative Authorities (Höhere Verwaltungsbehörden) will be delegated to the provincial presidents (Landespräsidenten) in Prague and Brünn. Functions performed elsewhere in the Reich by Lower Administrative Authorities (Untere Verwaltungsbehörden) are delegated to the chiefs of political districts (Bezirkshauptmänner), the mayors of the five cities with special statutes (Prague, Pilsen, Brünn, Olomouc, and Moravska Ostrava), and to the police authorities in the same five cities.

1/ VBlProt., p. 118, 23 May 1942.

The offices entrusted with delegated functions of the Reich administration received the designation of Reichsauftragsverwaltungen (RAV). (See Appendix II.) With the transfer of functions of the Reich administration to Czech offices and officials the fiction of their autonomous character was for all practical purposes destroyed. In their capacity as Reichsauftragsverwaltungen they were under the direct control of the competent German authorities (supervised by a special section in the German Ministry of State), and were responsible to the German Minister of State. At the same time they retained their functions as organs of the Czech administration, under the jurisdiction of the Czech Ministry of Interior. Of the two higher controlling agencies the German, of course, carried more weight.

Some of the functions transferred to these offices were the control of Jewish property, the handling of citizenship questions, the handling of certain economic matters (pertaining to the handling of foreign property in the Protectorate), the execution of the air protection law (Luftschutzrecht) and of regulations regarding the protection of national symbols, matters concerning passenger traffic between the Protectorate and the Reich, and registration of foreigners in the Protectorate..

3. The Czech Autonomous Administration

a. The President

At the head of the autonomous government was the president, who held office subject to the approval of the Führer. The office was held continuously by Dr. Emil Hácha, in 1944 seventy-two years old, who was elected president of rump Czechoslovakia on 30 November 1938, after the resignation of Eduard Beneš, and who, in the early morning of 15 March 1939, signed the last official document of the old Czechoslovak Government, "requesting" Germany to assume the protection of Bohemia-Moravia.

b. The Cabinet

The first Protectorate Cabinet was appointed on 27 April 1939. Except for the disappearance of the liquidated ministries, the functions of which went over to the Reich (Foreign Affairs and National Defense), and the appointment of a new Prime Minister, Eliáš, the Cabinet was the same as the post-Munich Beran government. During the next two years there were a few individual changes, including the flight of Ladislav Feierabend, now Minister of Finance in the Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile. No major change occurred until the fall of 1941, when the Prime Minister, Eliáš, was arrested and executed, during the reign of terror instituted by Reinhard Heydrich. A thoroughgoing reorganization was then carried out. On 19 January 1942 a new Cabinet was appointed, which in the fall of 1944 still held office. The eight Ministries which emerged from the reshuffling of administrative jurisdictions corresponded to the division of functions in the Reich Cabinet. At the same time the Nazi-sponsored principle of individual responsibility replaced the former collective responsibility of the Ministers.

The new Cabinet was constituted as follows:

Prime Minister and Minister of Justice:
Dr. Jaroslav Krejčí
Minister of the Interior: Richard Bienert
Minister of Economy and Labor: Dr. Walter Bertsch
Minister of Schools: Col. Emanuel Moravec
Minister of Public Enlightenment:
Col. Emanuel Moravec
Minister of Agriculture and Forestry:
Adolf Hrubý
Minister of Transport and Technics:
Dr. Jindřich Kamenický
Minister of Finance: Dr. Josef Kalfus

The two most important appointments were those of the Reich German SS Obergruppenführer Dr. Bertsch, who controlled the vital Ministry of Economy, and Colonel Moravec, who emerged as one of the few real quislings among the Czechs and who came to control all educational and propaganda activities for the Czech population. Bertsch had previously served in important economic posts under the Reich Government, and had been chief of the Economics and Finance Department of the Office of the Reichsprotektor. Moravec was an officer in the Czechoslovak Army, rather widely known for his brilliant articles on strategy and tactics. He had never previously held any political position. Of the other Cabinet members, only Krejčí and Kalfus had served in pre-Munich Cabinets, the latter having been an official in the Ministry of Finance since 1920 and Minister of Finance since 1926. Bienert was a former police official who became Provincial President of Bohemia in 1939. Kamenický was a technician with little political background, and Hrubý a small-time politician.

German control over the Cabinet was assured not only by the presence of a Reich German within it, and by the fact that the appointments of ministers were revocable at will by the Reichsprotektor, but also by the placing of German officials in important posts within the Ministries. A number of these officials concurrently held corresponding posts in the German Ministry of State for Bohemia-Moravia. Control was further tightened by the fact that all legislative and administrative acts of the Czech Government were subject to review by German officials.

This tight German control appears to have succeeded in keeping the present Cabinet "safe." The Gleichschaltung of Protectorate legislation and administration progressed far more rapidly under its aegis than during the two years of the Eliáš cabinet. Eliáš not only succeeded in delaying the application of many Nazi measures, in some cases forcing the Reichsprotektor to take responsibility for introducing the more unpopular ones, but was finally executed because he was accused (apparently with good reason) of being the actual executive head of the Czech underground resistance movement. It is likely that the underground, although supported by a number of high officials, no longer had a foothold in the Cabinet after Eliáš' death.

c. Central Offices

In addition to the Cabinet five central offices with special control functions in specific fields were set up:

The Statistical Office (Statistisches Zentralamt)

The Supreme Budget Control Office (Oberste Rechnungskontrolbehörde)

The Supreme Price Control Office (Oberste Preisbehörde)

The Curatorium for Youth Education in Bohemia and Moravia (Kuratorium für Jugenderziehung in Böhmen und Mähren)

The Land Office for Bohemia and Moravia (Bodenamt für Böhmen und Mähren)

d. Local Government

The Protectorate was divided into two provinces (Länder): Böhmen and Mähren. The two provincial capitals, Prague and Brünn, were the seats of the provincial administration (Landesbehörden). Each province was divided into political districts headed by Bezirkshauptmänner. (Bohemia was divided into 46 and Moravia into 25 districts.) In addition there were five cities with special statutes, Prague, Pilsen, Brünn, Olomouc, and Moravska Ostrava.

Several modifications were introduced in the basic pattern of local government which brought it entirely in line with the German system. Elected officials were gradually replaced by appointees from above. The Minister of Interior, who had jurisdiction over the local government, was empowered to dismiss officials on grounds of political unreliability without the normal disciplinary proceedings. The technical conditions of employment, salaries, and pensions were brought into line with those prevailing in the Reich. The most drastic change in local government, however, occurred in March 1944. At that time the last vestige of democratic institutions, the system of municipal councils, was abolished. The administration of municipalities with more than ten thousand (in exceptional cases, three thousand) inhabitants was entrusted to one person, the head of the municipal administration (hauptamtlicher Gemeindeleiter) who exercised the function of former municipal organs with complete and exclusive authority and responsibility. His title officially became that of Bürgermeister; in the cities with special statutes, Oberbürgermeister. In municipalities with more than a thousand inhabitants deputies for the performance of special tasks could be appointed. All appointments were made for twelve years.

D. THE LEGAL SYSTEM AND THE COURTS

1. The Legal System

Czechoslovak law constituted the basic part of the legal system in the Protectorate, although many new measures were superimposed upon it. Czechoslovak laws remained in effect until changed or superseded by new legislation, except where they were "contrary to the meaning of the assumption of protection by the German Reich." The decision as to which provisions were to be nullified rested with the Reichsprotektor, who published his decisions in the Verordnungsblatt. In some cases, the import of the law was changed instead of cancelling the law itself. For example, the 1936 Czechoslovak "law for the defense of the state" was specifically maintained in effect, but its provisions were declared to operate in favor of the Reich instead of the Czechoslovak Government.[1] In other cases the old Czechoslovak laws were specifically invalidated only when the corresponding Reich laws were introduced into the Protectorate.

The various legal gazettes issued in the Reich were also valid in the Protectorate, and the Verordnungsblatt des Reichsprotektors in Böhmen und Mähren (later Verordnungsblätt des deutschen Staatsministers in B.u.M.) was recognized as an official Reich publication.[2] This situation occasionally led to some hardship, as Protectorate nationals were presumed to know of the issuance of a law affecting them even if it had not been published in the Protectorate, and may have unwittingly infringed regulations, the existence of which they did not know. In general, however, Reich laws and regulations affecting the Protectorate were promptly and fully reported in the Verordnungsblatt and the local press.

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[1] RGBl., 1939, I, 1871, 22 September 1939, citing VBlRProt., 20 June 1939.
[2] RGBl., 1939, I, 704, 3 April 1939.

New legislation came from three sources:

a. The Reich Government

Reich German laws were not valid for the Protectorate without specific mention, unless they were promulgated "for the whole Greater German Reich," in which case the Protectorate was automatically included.[1]

In Reich affairs affecting the Protectorate, executive power resided in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, designated as the "Central Office for Carrying out the Führer's Decree of 16 March 1939, Establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia." All Reich officials had to obtain the approval of the Ministry of the Interior before issuing any legal or organizational decrees affecting the Protectorate.[2]

Most of the Reich laws affecting the Protectorate were issued jointly by several ministries, usually including the Ministry of the Interior. The only exceptions were certain administrative orders by the Ministries of Justice, Finance, etc., carrying out prior laws already countersigned by the Minister of the Interior.

b. The German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia

He had the right to legislate directly, to require the autonomous Cabinet to legislate on specific points, or to cancel, suspend, or change the legislation of the autonomous Government.

c. The Autonomous Czech Government

The great bulk of legislation in the Protectorate came from this source. The Cabinet legislated, subject to the approval of the German Minister of State, on the basis of a law passed in December 1938, permitting legislation by decree in periods of emergency without consulting Parliament (which was abolished in 1939). This law was renewed by the Reichsprotektor in 1940.1/ A reference to it appears at the head of every decree published in the Official Gazette. Many -- probably the majority -- of the Cabinet's decrees are modelled on the corresponding Reich legislation. It is not only new legislation that followed this model wherever possible. Every time a law or group of laws came up for renewal, revision, or codification, it was brought into line with Reich law on the same subject. One of the outstanding examples is the revision of the tax system in the Protectorate, which, by a series of decrees extending over several years was made to conform with both the principles and the scale of contributions prevailing in Germany. In general, however, there was comparatively little basic revision of Czechoslovak law. Most of the new legislation was, of necessity, directly connected with war conditions.

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[1] Article 11, Protectorate decree; RGBl., 1939, I, 704, 3 April 1939.

[2] Article 13, Protectorate decree; RGBl., 1939, I, 549, 22 March 1939.

Legal measures stemming from all three legislative sources applied to all residents of the Protectorate, whether German citizens or Protectorate nationals, unless specifically limited to one or the other. The executory organs -- police and courts, both German and Czech -- apply all three sets of laws.

German citizens living in the Protectorate were not automatically subject to any Reich law unless it is specifically extended to them. A whole series of such extensions appeared in the Reichsgesetzblatt shortly after the establishment of the Protectorate in 1939. For Reich citizens whose legal domicile was in other parts of the Reich but who were

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1/ VBlRProt., 1940, p. 604, 12 December 1940.

temporarily resident in the Protectorate, their Heimatrecht (i.e., the law valid at their place of domicile), applied. For German citizens from the Sudetenland, German law as specifically extended to the Sudeten territories applied.1/

A few examples of laws affecting Germans in the Protectorate follow:

The entire complex of laws concerning the Reich Labor Service was applied to Reich citizens in the Protectorate in 1939.2/ German "army law" (Wehrrecht -- i.e., conscription, etc.) was introduced in October 1940 and made retroactive to 1 July 1939.3/ German family-aid laws were made valid for Germans in the Protectorate in October 1939.4/ German laws concerning the granting of medals, admission to honorary orders, etc., were not applied to Germans in the Protectorate until June 1942.5/ German law on the qualifications and licensing of notaries, physicians, veterinaries, etc., was progressively introduced for German citizens in the Protectorate, and Protectorate sections of the corresponding Reich Chambers were established.6/ (Czechs had their own national Chambers.)

On the other hand, a decree of October 1939 7/ declared that it was for the time being impossible to introduce the Reich system of "marriage loans" for those Reich citizens who had acquired citizenship through the establishment of the

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1/ RGBl., 1939, I, 20 July 1939.

2/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 37, 1 August 1939; RGBl., 1939, I, 2472, 31 October 1939.

3/ RGBl., 1940, I, 1364.

4/ RGBl., 1939, I, 2125, 31 October 1939.

5/ RGBl., 1942, I, 417.

6/ RGBl., 1939, I, 2038, 13 October 1939, for notaries; 1940, I, 1664, 23 December 1940, for veterinaries; 1940, I, 1665, 24 December 1940, for physicians.

7/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 287.

Protectorate. (It is not known whether the system was finally introduced later on.)

2. The Courts

In theory, there existed in the Protectorate two entirely separate, complete, and mutually exclusive judicial systems -- one for German citizens and one for Protectorate nationals.1/ In practice, however, only one of them, the German, was exclusive. With only minor exceptions, German citizens could not be tried by Czech courts. Protectorate nationals, on the other hand, were subject to the jurisdiction of German courts for a long list of criminal offenses (largely of political import), which was constantly being extended. In civil litigation, the presence of a single German in the case, whether as plaintiff, defendant, or witness, could be sufficient to bring it to a German court. Furthermore, the Reichsprotektor had general powers to transfer any case from a Czech to a German court. In periods of "emergency" (a term which he alone defined) he could delegate almost unlimited power over both Germans and Czechs to special summary courts.

The division between the two judicial systems on the basis of nationality extended to lawyers and notaries. Special permission was required for a lawyer of one nationality to appear before a court of the other nationality. Only the German language could be used in German courts; either Czech or German could be used in Czech courts, but any legal documents transmitted by these courts to German authorities had to be either written in German or else accompanied by a certified translation into German.

1/ Protectorate Decree, Art. 2, sec. 1. Cf. also the detailed study in "Die deutsche Gerichtsbarkeit in Böhmen und Mähren," Deutsches Recht, 1940, p. 1746, pp. 1746-54 and 2085-92.

a. The German Courts

(1) Ordinary Courts

Alongside the Czech court system, a complete network of German courts was established in the Protectorate, forming an integral part of the Reich's legal system. The two courts of highest instance in Germany, the Reich Supreme Court (Reichsgericht) and the People's Court (Volksgerichtshof), also functioned in the Protectorate. The ordinary German courts, which together formed the Oberlandesgerichtsbezirk Prag, included an Oberlandesgericht at Prague, two Landgerichte, at Prague and Brünn, with a Special Court (Sondergericht) attached to each, and fourteen Amtsgerichte. They functioned in the same manner as did corresponding courts in the Reich, except that in civil cases the German courts used the procedure and fees customary in Czech courts.[1]

(2) Special Courts

Beside the ordinary courts, there were several types of special courts in the German judicial system in the Protectorate:

(a) Military Courts. German military courts in the Protectorate had functions similar to those elsewhere in the Reich.[2] Up to January 1942 they also had jurisdiction over cases of sabotage, very broadly defined as "any disturbance of public life and economy."[3] In 1942, however, these cases were transferred to the Special Courts and the People's Court. The military courts ultimately were given non-German cases only in exceptional circumstances where the

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[1] RGBl., 1939, I, 1262, 14 July 1939; 1940, I, 980, 11 July 1940. German procedure was stipulated for all criminal trials, including non-German cases, before German courts. VBlRProt., 1939, p. 268, 18 September 1939.
[2] Cf. "German Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Countries" of this work.
[3] VBlRProt., 1939, p. 83, 26 August 1939.

Supreme Command of the Armed Forces certified to the Reichsprotektor that military necessity was involved.1/

(b) SS and Police Courts. These courts were introduced into the Protectorate in 1942, and functioned only in special cases of attack on members of the SS or police. The Reichsführer-SS had to certify to the Minister of the Interior that the case was to be handled by a designated SS or police court. If the Army was also affected by the crime, the Reichsführer-SS and the Supreme Commander of the Army together decided which court was to handle the case.2/

(c) Summary Courts (Standgerichte). In the two periods when a "state of civil emergency" was declared in parts of the Protectorate, in September-October 1941 and May-June 1942, the Reichsprotektor established Summary Courts with extremely broad powers to deal with political cases during the period of emergency. In 1941 there were two such Summary Courts, at Prague and Brünn; in 1942 there were at least three, the third at Vrbno. They functioned with great rapidity. In 1941 the "state of civil emergency" was declared on 27 September, and the first Summary Court sentences were published on the 28th. Large groups of accused were handled in short order. For example, on 30 September, the two Courts pronounced 58 death sentences (they were executed the same day), handed 256 over to the Gestapo, and freed one; the next day 39 were executed, 228 handed over to the Gestapo, and 4 freed. The accusations ranged from terroristic activity to "expressing approval of Heydrich's assassination," and included many cases of "economic sabotage" (black market, concealing crops, etc.), which were ordinarily handled by local Czech courts.3/

1/ RGBl., 1942, I, 47, January 1942.
2/ RGBl., 1942, I, 475, 15 July 1942; VBlRProt., 15 August 1942.
3/ The Czech Ministry of the Interior has special powers to enforce all measures connected with the war economy. (Venkov, 25 November 1941, citing Sammlung, No. 395.)

The Summary Courts existed only for the period of "civil emergency," although in the summer of 1942 they continued to function for some time after martial law was revoked. During the emergency their jurisdiction was wide; it was later limited to cases arising from Heydrich's assassination.

b. The Czech Courts

The Czech judicial system was maintained practically unchanged, except for the limitation of jurisdiction described above and the indirect limitations imposed by the transfer of German personnel to the German courts and the lack of new Czech personnel owing to the closing of the Czech universities. The only structural change was the establishment of a "National Tribunal" at Prague, to try political offenses of Czech nationals "against the Czech nation." Its jurisdiction was restricted solely to cases calling for the death penalty; if, in the course of a trial, the judges found that the defendant was not liable to capital punishment they were required at once to transfer the case to an ordinary court. The Tribunal had seven members, appointed by the Protectorate President on the nomination of the Prime Minister. Its decisions were final, with no appeal permitted.

The hierarchy of courts ascended from the Bezirksgericht through Kreisgericht to the Obergericht in Prague and Brünn and the Oberstes Gericht also in Brünn. In addition there were nineteen types of special courts, including labor, commercial, and patent courts. The functioning of these, however, was systematically curtailed, and by a decree of 2 September 1944 completely suspended. Their agenda was taken over by the regular district and provincial courts.

The same decree also limited the functioning of the regular courts and empowered the Minister of Justice to suspend them entirely. This measure was designed both to weaken the jurisdiction of Czech courts and to free manpower for the total mobilization drive in the Protectorate.

E. THE SS AND POLICE

1. The SS

German police forces and the SS in the Protectorate were organized along the lines followed in the Reich.

Until March 1944 the Protectorate was divided into two SS sectors (Abschnitte) with headquarters located in Prague and Brünn. By a decree of SS Reichsleiter Himmler, however, the Protectorate was elevated to an Oberabschnitt, with headquarters in Prague, and jurisdiction was extended not only over the territory of the Protectorate but also over that of the Sudetengau. Presumably the senior officer of the SS Oberabschnitt Böhmen und Mähren was SS Obergruppenführer K. H. Frank, although no record of an official appointment is at hand.

2. The German Police

SS Obergruppenführer Karl Hermann Frank was also the highest police official. He bore the title of Höherer SS und Polizeiführer, and the leaders of the Order Police and of the Security Police in the Protectorate were responsible to him.

a. The Order Police

The Commander of the Order Police (at the same time chief of the Protectorate uniformed police) was Generalleutnant der Polizei Riege. The German Order Police in the Protectorate was represented by comparatively few units. The Czech uniformed police continued to perform the routine functions. (See below.)

b. The Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) and Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst) in the Protectorate

The chief of the Security Police in the Protectorate was SS Standartenführer Erich Weinmann. Its functions were defined in the following terms:

> The organs of the German Security Police in the Protectorate have the duty of investigating and repressing all activities inimical to the State and the Volk, collecting

evidence on such activities, and keeping the Reichsprotektor and his officials informed. In political-police matters (i.e., cases of treason, subversive activities, etc.) all German and Czech officials in the Protectorate were obliged to obey the instructions of the State Police Directorate (Staatspolizeileitstelle); officials of the Czech autonomous government in addition obeyed the instructions of the Gestapo in such matters.

As in the rest of the Reich, the Security Police operated through two branches -- the Secret State Police (Gestapo) and the Criminal Police.

(1) The State Police (Gestapo)

This institution was under the leadership of SS Sturmbannführer Walter Jacoby. It operated through two Staatspolizeistellen located at Prague and Brünn. Under these were a number of local police directorates in the major cities of the Protectorate.

(2) The Criminal Police

The criminal police under the leadership of Obersturmbannführer Kriminaldirektor Friedrich Sowa also operated through two directorates located at Prague and Brünn. Local Kriminalpolizeistellen were located in the major cities of the Protectorate.

The functions of the criminal police included the handling of cases involving Germans and also specific cases involving non-Germans. Its main function, however, consisted in exercising administrative supervision over the Czech criminal police. The Protectorate police officials were obliged to obey the orders of the Germans.

3. The Czech Police

The Protectorate police was divided into two branches: uniformed and non-uniformed police. A thoroughgoing reorganization of the police system in April 1944 resulted in the following setup:

a. The Uniformed Police

The uniformed police included the gendarmery, the government police (in larger cities), the uniformed municipal police, and the professional fire brigades.

b. The Non-uniformed Police

This branch included the government criminal police (Regierungskriminalpolizei) and the municipal criminal police (Gemeindekriminalpolizei).

Supreme command of both police forces rested with the Ministry of Interior. The immediate supervision of enlistment, training, and execution of proper functions was entrusted to inspectors assigned to the provincial offices (Landesbehörden) in Prague and Brünn, respectively.

The criminal police was controlled through two police directorates (Kriminaldirektionen) in Prague and Brünn. On the lower level, criminal departments (Kriminalabteilungen) with limited local jurisdiction were set up. The municipal criminal police was subordinate to the government criminal police, and its functions were transferable to the government police upon the orders of the Minister of Interior. In June 1944 the municipal police forces in many cities were replaced by government police.

F. THE PARTY AND PARTY-AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

1. The Party

The Nazi Party existed in Bohemia-Moravia even before the German occupation. Prior to Munich, the Sudeten German Party under Konrad Henlein was organized along lines parallel to the NSDAP, although appearing on the surface to have no connection with it. As a result of the Munich agreement, rump Czechoslovakia felt obliged to grant the German minority special privileges, including the right to join the NSDAP and to display Nazi symbols. The old Sudeten German Party formed the nucleus of the new groups, but the reorganization was gradual and was not complete when the German occupation took place. After the occupation, the NSDAP moved rapidly and systematically to embrace the entire German population of the Protectorate within the Nazi Party system. Today every Party organization in the Reich has its counterpart in the Protectorate: the Party itself, the SS and SA, the *NS-Frauenschaft*, the Hitler Youth, the League of German Girls, the *NS-Studentenbund*, *NS-Kriegerbund*, and all the rest. These are of course restricted to the German sector of the population.1/

1/ It is difficult to estimate the exact number of Germans resident in the Protectorate. There were 250,000-odd Sudeten Germans in Bohemia-Moravia at the end of 1938, all of whom became Reich citizens on 15 March 1939. There are about 100,000 German army, SS, and police members stationed in the Protectorate, and perhaps 25,000-30,000 administrative officials. The number of Reich German businessmen and workers cannot be closely estimated, but is probably not above 20,000-25,000. Thus, in a total population of 7,380,000 (the official 1940 figure, which specifically excludes all Germans who immigrated since March 1939), there are possibly 320,000 Germans aside from those in the armed forces and police. This number may have been scaled down considerably in 1944 by military service and total mobilization measures.

In contrast to some other occupied areas, the Party was not directly identified with most of the governmental administration in the Protectorate. The Reichsprotektor, Frick, was a Reich Leader in the NSDAP, but has not been prominent in the Party leadership. The Minister of State, Frank, was a high official in the SS and a former leader in the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia, but at present, as far as is known, he did not hold any Party office outside the SS. There was a Party Liaison Office in the Protectorate (under Permanent Deputy Director Oberbereichsleiter Schulte-Schomburg), which was organized into departments covering all phases of party activity. At least two high Party officials functioned actively within the German Ministry of State: the Chief of the Cultural Policy Department, SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Wolf, who is a Special Deputy of the NSDAP's Reich Propaganda Leadership, and the Trustee for Organizations (in April 1942 Oberbereichsleiter Neuburg). The rest of the Ministry seemed to be staffed mostly with technical experts who did not carry on active Party work. At the lower administrative levels, there were a few minor functionaries who were also minor party leaders. In general, the Party hierarchy in the Protectorate seemed to be rather clearly divorced from the administrative hierarchy.

The Protectorate did not constitute a separate Party District (Gau), but was divided among the following Gaue: Gau Sudetenland (which covered the major part), Bayreuth, Oberdonau, and Niederdonau. Within these districts, Protectorate Germans were organized into nine Kreise, distributed as follows:

Sudetenland: Prague (the Kreisleiter is Oberbereichsleiter Karl Adam, who is also the Gauleiter's deputy for all the Protectorate Kreise in the Reichsgau Sudetenland); Moravska Ostrava (Ing. Wilhelm Heinz); Hradec Králové (Erich Schuh); Olomouc (Dipl.-Ing. Adolf Watzke); and Pilsen (Georg Wollner)

Bayreuth: Klatovy (Dauchert)

Oberdonau: Budějovice (Adolf Hauptmann)

Niederdonau: Brünn (Dipl.-Ing. Karl Folta); and Jihlava (Siegl)

The Kreise were in turn subdivided into Ortsgruppen. Prague, for example, had twelve. .

Although the Protectorate was attached to party Gaue beyond its boundaries, no Protectorate Kreis included any territory outside Bohemia-Moravia, and, with a single exception,[1] no outside Kreis included any Protectorate territory.

Some of the Party organizations and affiliates followed the administrative division of the main Party offices, but others had separate regional units for the Protectorate.

2. The Hitler Youth

The Hitler Youth was introduced into the Protectorate as the compulsory youth organization of all German children. It took over the property and membership of all former German youth organizations in the Protectorate. Under the leadership of Gebietsführer Dräxler (appointed in 1944) the Protectorate forms a separate regional command (Befehlsstelle) of the Hitler Youth. Its activities and functions were the same as in the Reich.

In March 1944 one of the fourteen Adolf Hitler Schulen, the special leadership-training schools of the Hitler Youth, was transferred from Sonthofen, Bavaria, to Jihlava. This training school in the Protectorate was to serve as a sign of the German character of this territory and as the training center for future Party leaders in the Protectorate.

3. The NSV (National Socialist Welfare Organization)

The NSV apparently had no separate regional unit for the Protectorate but carried out its activities from the various

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[1] The town of Jindřichův Hradec, which belonged to the Kreis Neubistritz (former Czechoslovak territory), in the Reichsgau Niederdonau. (Neue Tag, 9 April 1942).

Gau headquarters. It was reported to have three thousand volunteer helpers in the Protectorate, and maintained youth hostels, infant homes, recuperation homes, etc. The NSV came in with the German troops on 15 March 1939, and for a few weeks ostentatiously maintained soup kitchens for the needy of both German and Czech nationality. On 20 April it ceased giving aid to Czech nationals and established a far-flung organization for Germans only. (The Czechs had their own welfare organization, called "Social Aid.")

4. Sportsgau Böhmen und Mähren

The Party sport organization recently amalgamated the German sport groups of the Protectorate into a regional command, the Sportsgau Böhmen und Mähren, No. 43 in the Reich, led by SS-Obersturmbannführer Max Kopischke.

5. The Children's Evacuation Scheme (Kinderlandverschickung-KLV)

This aspect of the Hitler Youth organization is represented by a Provincial Office located in Prague. Numerous KLV camps are in operation throughout the Protectorate.

6. The Extension of Party Controls over All Germans in the Protectorate

The number of Germans in the Protectorate who have joined the ranks of the Party or of its affiliated organizations is not known. In general, however, the Party movement in the Protectorate did not show a strength similar to that in the Sudetenland. The Germans enjoyed the privileges accorded to them on the basis of their "racial superiority" but did not display overwhelming enthusiasm for political activities. In view of the disturbances expected to arise as the prospects of liberation of the Czech people become more real, the German Minister of State in September 1944 deemed it necessary to pool all Germans into organizations which allegedly are to serve for the cementing of the common interests of the German population. In effect they were potential bases for a German civilian defense organization which could be called on to safeguard German interests against the internal or external enemy.

The organizations created by the decree and established in every district were called the "German communities" (deutsche Gemeinschaften). They were under the jurisdiction of the Party Kreisleiter, who gave them their statutes. An interesting feature of the organizations was that its members, who included both Party members and persons not belonging to the Party, all came under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Party Honor Courts (Parteigerichte) and thus were for all practical purposes under the direct control of the Party. The compulsory registration of all Germans, sixteen years and older, in Party controlled organizations was a measure without precedent in the Reich or in other occupied territories.

G. THE ARMED FORCES IN THE PROTECTORATE

1. The German Army

From a military point of view the Protectorate was designated as a separate *Wehrkreis* (created in 1942), although it was not numbered as were those in the Reich proper. The German military in the Protectorate was the only authority completely independent of the German Minister of State.

The commander of the Armed Forces, who was at the same time Plenipotentiary of the Armed Forces with the *Reichsprotektor* (*Wehrmachtbevollmächtigter beim Reichsprotektor*) was *Generalleutnant* Toussaint. Under him the *Wehrkreis* was divided into two (formerly four) recruiting areas, Prague and Brünn. Universal service was not introduced for Czechs; only German citizens were liable to draft.

The Germans maintained a number of permanent garrisons in the Protectorate. They also employed a number of posts for the basic training of both ground troops and aviators.

Military aviation in the Protectorate did not have a separate command but was included in the *Luftgau* XVII, headquarters Vienna, comprising Austria, the Protectorate, and parts of the Sudetenland and Silesia. Plants working for the *Luftwaffe* in the Protectorate had a civilian organization for the labor force, under the Air Force Office of the Labor Front (DAF-*Amt Luftwaffe*), similar to that for the army garrisons.

Beside the regular Army, there were also *Waffen-SS* units stationed in the Protectorate, under the command of SS-*Gruppenführer und Generalleutnant der Waffen-SS* Georg Keppler. In February 1943 a *Feldgendarmerie Regiment Böhmen-Mähren* was organized.

2. German Para-military Organizations in the Protectorate

The operation of the German para-military organizations was extended into the Protectorate. Their membership was strictly confined to German citizens.

a. The NSKK (NS Motor Corps)

It maintained a regional unit in the Protectorate. The Motorstandarte M-214, Prague, was formerly administratively autonomous but attached to the Sudeten unit of the NSKK, Motorgruppe Egerland. In December 1943, however, it became an independent unit known as Motorstandarte M-215, led by Stransky. In its new form the Motorstandarte operated through eight Motorstürme.

b. The NSFK (National Socialist Flying Corps)

This organization established a unit (Sturm 18/40) for both Sudetenland and the Protectorate on 17 April 1939. It was based originally on the 120 members of the Union of German Flyers (Verband deutscher Flieger) of Czechoslovakia, of which the most important section was the Akaflieg (Akademische Fliegergruppe) attached to the German Institute of Technology in Prague. In October 1941 the NSFK founded a Hitler Youth flying unit in Prague. The practice field was located at Rannay, near Louny, close to the Protectorate-Sudetenland frontier.

c. The Technical Emergency Service (Technische Nothilfe)

This organization was under the Commander of the Order Police in the German Ministry of State, and was commanded by Bereitschaftsführer Eisner. It had "readiness stations" throughout the country.

d. The RAD (Reich Labor Service)

The Protectorate formed the 38th Labor District (Arbeitsgau) of the German Labor Service for men, under Arbeitsgauführer R. Leitner and his deputy, Oberstarbeitsführer Deppe, and the 24th District for women. The Central Office (RAD-Hauptmeldeamt) was at Prague, and there were four sub-offices (RAD-Meldeämter) at Prague, Olomouc, Brünn, and Budějovice. Under these were various labor camps, divisions, and groups.

3. Czech Military Forces

a. The Czech Army

The Czechoslovak Army was disbanded after the establishment of the Protectorate, but the government was permitted to maintain a token force of eight thousand men. The army under the command of General Jaroslav Eminger was composed almost entirely of former professional soldiers and was considered to be 90 percent pro-Allied. Its activities were for a long time limited to service as an auxiliary police force in the Protectorate. In June 1944, however, a decree by the German Minister of State allowed for its use beyond the Protectorate frontiers. Subsequently the whole Army was sent to Northern Italy to perform security functions.

b. Military Service of Czechs

The Government Army was the only military organization in which Czech nationals could serve. They were exempted from service in the German Army by a reciprocal agreement at the time of the Munich accord, and after the establishment of the Protectorate the Germans continued to exclude them, although they pressed soldiers of almost every other nationality in Europe into active service. The fixed policy appeared to be to keep Czechs working in the Protectorate war industries, where they could be more easily controlled and relatively more useful to Germany than they would be as soldiers, in view of their "political unreliability" and their long tradition of "silent sabotage" from the days of Czech service in the Austro-Hungarian Army.

Scattered and persistent reports, particularly in Soviet broadcasts, maintained that Czechs were serving in the German Army, but closer examination generally reveals that the men in question either came from mixed families and were more or less forcibly registered as German citizens, or else hailed from Czech families domiciled outside the Protectorate (mostly in Vienna or the Sudetenland). A number of Czechs served in the German auxiliary military labor forces, especially the Organisation Todt, and a few of these may have been shifted into the Army itself. There is one case where German authorities set a quota for Czech workers to be sent to the OT with the expressed purpose of "redressing the population balance" in the Jihlava district (one of the old German enclaves in the Protectorate), where the proportion of German residents had fallen because of calls for military and labor service in the Reich. There is, however, absolutely no evidence of any large-scale induction of Czech nationals into the German Army.

H. PROPAGANDA

As everywhere else in the Reich, propaganda was assigned a major role in the conditioning of the people's attitude toward the state. The importance attached to propaganda is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the Ministry of Public Enlightenment, headed by Colonel Emanuel Moravec, was one of the most active Ministries in the Protectorate and Moravec was the most powerful Czech Minister in the Cabinet.

1. German Propaganda

a. Controls

The control of German propaganda and propaganda media in the Protectorate resided with Department IV (Cultural Policy) of the German Ministry of State. The validity of German propaganda laws was extended over all German propaganda personnel and institutions active in the Protectorate and the compulsory professional associations had branches there. The Association of the German Press (Reichsverband der deutschen Presse) had a Regional Association (Landesverband) for Bohemia-Moravia, whose leader was Karl Ansorge, Chief of the Prague Division of the DNB, and the Association of German Publishers had a Regional Association under Anton Langhans, publisher of the Neue Tag.

Prague became one of the centers of the German motion picture industry. The Prag Film Gesellschaft was one of seven producing companies that continued to operate in Germany after 1943.

Control over the entire film industry in the Protectorate was vested in the Filmzentrale für Böhmen und Mähren, created by a decree of the Reichsprotektor of 26 October 1940. The Filmzentrale was supervised in turn by the Reichsprotektor and the German Minister of State. It was in charge of coordinating the Protectorate film industry with the Reich's. In addition it controlled the personnel engaged in motion picture work. A Filmprüfstelle (Censorship Office) for the Protectorate was also established by the Reichsprotektor.

In the field of broadcasting the Reichsprotektor established a Rundfunkarbeitsgemeinschaft which took the place of the former Czech radio amateurs' societies. Its functions were not clearly defined, but they were probably similar to the ones performed by an organization of the same name in the Reich, namely, checking up on listeners .

b. Propaganda Topics

The German propaganda line toward the Czechs changed little after 1939. It paid considerable respect to the technical ability of the Czech people and to their industriousness and persistence. It pointed out that these qualities were wasted in "the service of a mistaken conception of history and of leaders whose policy was based on a wrong interpretation of the historic mission of the Bohemian lands," and exhorted the Czechs to banish from their minds all thoughts of return to such a false paradise. If the Czechs would cooperate loyally with the greater Reich, a rosy future was promised in which they would enjoy economic prosperity and in which they would take their rightful place as free associates of the German people. (Nevertheless German propaganda did not fail to resort to threats when they became necessary.).

To give proof of the independence of the Czech people the Germans pointed to the autonomous character of the Czech administration and publicized the fact that 96 percent of the pre-1938 local administrative personnel was still maintained in office.

To promote collaboration among workers the Germans devised free recreational schemes such as the Reinhard Heydrich Scheme. They established annual awards, like the shield of St. Venceslas and the Reinhard Heydrich Prize, to be given to persons who faithfully served the interests of the Reich. (Recipients of these awards included Teuner, the general secretary of the Kuratorium for Youth, and a group of Czech peasants.)

For the major and most effective part of its aim, however, the Germans relied on the native propaganda institutions. During the five years of Nazi rule, the Czech propaganda machine was built up into a smoothly functioning mechanism.

2. Czech Propaganda Controls and Organizations

a. Political Parties as Propaganda Organs

During the period following the occupation of the Protectorate no formal Czech propaganda agency was set up. Propaganda functions were assigned to the only existing Czech political Party, the *Narodni Sourucenstvi*, which was destined to become the counterpart of the NSDAP.

The NS was first announced one week after the occupation, when President Hácha appointed a provisional executive committee (*Výbor*) of fifty members, and called upon the Czech people to express their solidarity by joining the party. Membership was restricted to Czech males over twenty-one. Women were to have their own organization, attached to the cultural society, National Council (*Národni Rada*), but were henceforth excluded from political activity, being assigned "the greater task of protecting the Czech soul." On 23 April 1939, 2,130,000 Czechs, almost 100 percent of those eligible, registered. On 28 April the legal position of the Party was settled by government decree. The President of the Protectorate, Hácha, was declared leader of the Party, which was to be the only institution permitted to organize Czech nationals politically.

The NS rapidly set up a tremendous organization, with local units in every township. At the head was the Executive Committee, with seventy members, directed by Count Jan Fousek. It was organized into subcommittees dealing with every phase of Czech life. These subcommittees made detailed studies on the basis of which they recommended action to the central government on all types of questions, ranging from technical points, such as new methods of milk inspection, to grandiose schemes for indoctrinating the Czech people with National Socialist ideology.

For some time the NS was very much in evidence. It was officially represented at every public meeting. Every Czech newspaper was designated "official organ of the NS." NS officials participated ostentatiously in Red Cross drives, the winter clothing collection for the Eastern front in January 1942, etc. But gradually the NS began to fade out of the public view, and its name disappeared from newspaper mastheads. In the fall of 1942 a drastic reorganization was announced. Count Fousek was dismissed and Dr. Tomáš Krejčí was installed as "commissarial administrator." A meeting of NS regional leaders was called to discuss "new directives." In January 1943 it was announced that the NS had now officially recognized what had long been actual fact: that it was no longer a political organization, but simply a body (*Körperschaft*) with cultural and educational aims, the sole function of which was "to lead the people according to the policy of the State President and his government into Reich-consciousness and toward a new order in the sense of the national community and social justice." Since that time little was heard of the NS except for minor cultural manifestations such as local celebrations of literary anniversaries. Its trend may be gauged from the fact that in December 1942 the Nazi right-arm salute -- the "Aryan greeting" -- was designated as the official NS salute.

b. Czech Fascist Parties

Although the NS was the only political organization officially permitted for the Czechs, a number of small native fascist groups managed to maintain semi-official status, with German encouragement. In the first few days of the occupation, several of these groups banded together to form a "National Committee," headed by General Rudolf Gajda, making an unsuccessful bid for political power. The Germans flirted with the Committee for a short time but soon realized that it was politically impotent. Gajda himself then advised his followers to join the NS, although a small group of dissidents broke away from him and created a flurry of ineffectual rioting and newspaper polemics during the formation of the NS.

A small Czech fascist group, the Vlajka (Flag), continued to exist until 28 May 1943, when it was dissolved and its remaining assets were handed over to the German Red Cross. Its dissolution gave tacit recognition to the abysmal failure of the more violent forms of fascist propaganda among the Czechs.

c. The Ministry of Public Enlightenment: Its Controls and Functions

The decline of the NS and the Czech fascists was paralleled by the rise of Col. Emanuel Moravec and the mushrooming of propaganda agencies under his aegis. Moravec became Minister of Schools and head of the newly created Office of Public Enlightenment on 19 January 1942, in connection with the drastic reorganization of the Czech administration already described. A few months later the Office was raised to the status of a Ministry, with Moravec as Minister. Its sphere was defined as including every phase of cultural and political activity among the Czechs in the Protectorate:

propaganda, press, radio, theater, music, literature, and art. Moravec, as head of both ministries became sole arbiter (of course, under the ultimate control of the German administration) of what could be said and taught to the Czech population, thus centralizing functions previously distributed among a number of different agencies. For the first time, propaganda became an official function of the Czech government.

Beside the control of propaganda media an important function of the Ministry was the direction of Nazification of the Czech people. For this purpose it operated through three main agencies: the Institute of Public Enlightenment, the Youth Kuratorium, and the newly founded League Against Bolshevism.

d. Propaganda Agencies

(1) The Institute for Public Enlightenment

The Institute was officially launched by Colonel Moravec on 28 May 1943, the anniversary of Heydrich's assassination. It was established by a Czech government decree of 11 May, which abolished the "obsolete apparatus" of adult education committees and entrusted the Institute with the control of all Czech public meetings, exhibitions, etc., of a cultural, political, or educational nature. The new organization thus took over most of the functions previously exercised by the NS. It set up a network of district and local officials, under the chairmanship of Colonel Moravec, with a "Chief Delegate" as executive head. The Chief Delegate was Hugo Tuskány, editor of an anti-Semitic monthly, Arijská korespondence (Aryan Correspondence). The Institute maintained a permanent staff of lecturers and was reported to have three hundred permanent officials in addition to the network of part-time local representatives. It was officially represented at all important public meetings.

(2) The Kuratorium

The political education of the younger Czechs, outside the school system, is controlled by the Kuratorium for the Education of Czech Youth, in the foundation of which Reinhard Heydrich was reported to have taken a special interest. The Kuratorium was presided over by Moravec; its executive head, with the title of General-referent, was František Teuner. Teuner's staff -- there were over two hundred in the Prague office alone -- directed the activities of a far-flung organization responsible for the compulsory extra-school education of all Czech young people ten to eighteen years old. The staff was divided into four Departments: Organizational Work; Physical Training; Spiritual Training; Social Problems. Its 1943 budget was 360 million Czech crowns, a large part of which came from the confiscated funds of the Czech Sokol, which was dissolved in 1941. After 1 October 1942 the Kuratorium published a special periodical, Unser Weg (Náš Směr), with a circulation of ninety thousand.

The Kuratorium itself acted merely as an executive body. It provided directives which were carried out through some two thousand "approved" organizations: sport clubs, cultural societies, and various other types of youth groups. Approval could be withdrawn at any time if the organization did not follow the Kuratorium's directives. Withdrawal amounted to dissolution, since no Czech child could join an organization without the approval of the Kuratorium. Every child covered by the program had to belong to one of these approved organizations and to give several hours a week to the Compulsory Youth Service. The program, carried out by uniformed instructors trained in Kuratorium camps, included physical training, lectures, visits to the theater, and other cultural activities. For the older children, it also involved community service such as helping with the harvest, unloading potatoes in danger of spoilage, making Christmas dolls for children of Czech workers in the Reich, etc. Kuratorium leaders took great pains to explain the program in detail to anxious parents. Their speeches made it very evident that there were widespread fears among the Czechs that the children would be taken out of school and sent to factory work away from their homes. In general, the program was modelled on that of the Hitler Youth, and Hácha, Moravec, Teuner, and others declared that the highest ideal of Czech youth should be to emulate the heroic achievements of German boys and girls, to prepare themselves properly for life in the New Europe, and thus to "expiate the sins of their fathers."

Although the Kuratorium's ambitious plans were first announced in the summer of 1942, and the compulsory registration of every Czech (aged ten to eighteen) was carried out by the Czech police on 1 February 1943, the organization did not come into full operation. About one hundred and fifty thousand children were fully organized in the program, and another three to four hundred thousand were partially covered. The total number of children within the prescribed age limits is estimated at about one million. Six thousand instructors volunteered for service with the Kuratorium; by the middle of June 1943 two thousand of them had been trained in special two-week courses.

Before the establishment of the Kuratorium, Czech youth received its political education through various organizations, chiefly the youth section of the NS, which registered four hundred thousand members in May 1939. This presumably was dissolved after the opening of the new program. Of the other youth organizations, the patriotic gymnastic societies Sokol and Orel were dissolved; most of the rest were integrated into the Kuratorium program.

(3) The League against Bolshevism

The League was founded in January 1944 by a group of

Czech "intellectuals" who issued an anti-Bolshevist manifesto and resolved "to serve the interests of the Czech people" by spreading the theme of the Bolshevik bogy throughout the Protectorate. The president of the League was Josef Drachovsky, former president of the Czech Academy and of the National Council (Národní Rada) the cultural branch of the NS. Its members included several university professors, writers, actors, and industrialists. During the first three months of its existence the League organized 140 public demonstrations throughout the Protectorate. It repeatedly presented Minister Emanuel Moravec as its speaker.

I. EDUCATION

1. Administration

Under the Czechoslovak Republic the educational system was highly centralized. There was little technical difficulty in bringing it under Nazi control. There was nevertheless strong Czech resistance to the Gleichschaltung of education in the Protectorate. Except for the closing of the universities in November 1939, little progress was made in this direction until Col. Emanuel Moravec took over the Ministry of Schools in January 1942. A Czech newspaper commented that until then the Ministry had been "the strongest bastion of Benešism" and that Moravec had been assigned "to clean up our school system."

In 1942 a reorganization of the controls took place and the school administration was brought close to the Nazi model. Central authority rested with the Ministry of Education, headed by Colonel Emanuel Moravec. The Ministry controlled both Czech and German schools in the Protectorate with the exception of the universities which were directly in the charge of the Reich Ministry of Education.

The reorganization of the administration of schools involved the replacement of all former democratic institutions on the lower levels. Thus the Provincial School Councils (Landesschulräte) were abolished and their function taken over by special departments for schools attached to the provincial offices (Landesbehörden). The district and city school councils were likewise suspended and their functions taken over by school offices attached to the district authorities (Bezirksbehörden). The heads of the school offices bore the title of District School Inspector (Bezirksschulinspektor). On 19 November 1943 the functions of the local school councils were transferred to the office of the head of the municipality.

On the district and local levels the controls of Czech and German schools were separated. Separate school offices for German and Czech schools came into existence. The district inspectors were appointed by the provincial authorities, who also appointed the school inspectors of the cities with special statutes. The local school superintendents were appointed by the Czech and German district inspectors, respectively.

2. Types of Schools

a. Universities

The most serious blow suffered by the Czech educational system was the closing of the Czech universities and normal schools in November 1939, under the personal direction of Karl Hermann Frank, the German Minister of State for Bohemia-Moravia. The universities were officially closed for three years, but on 18 November 1942 Frank announced that they would not be reopened. The Czech population was thus deprived for an indefinite period of its normal supply of new teachers and trained intellectuals. Young Czechs graduating from high school were no longer able to enter higher educational institutions, and were obliged to go to work, except for a small number permitted to study selected subjects, largely technical, in German universities. [1/]

The German University in Prague which was parallel to the Czech Charles University there, and the German Institutes of Technology (Technische Hochschulen) in Prague and Brünn, remained open and greatly expanded their activities, particularly in special courses for German soldiers, both convalescent wounded and able-bodied men on "study leave."

[1/] It was reported that 3,500 students applied for this "privilege," but that only part were accepted. Applicants were limited to "pure Aryans" who had graduated from Czech secondary schools, with high marks, in 1940 or 1941 (i.e., excluding all those already of university age when the universities were closed). Národní Práce, Prague, 21 November 1942; Lidové Noviny, Brünn, 1 March 1942.

These institutions were administered directly by the Reich Ministry of Education. The number of German normal schools was doubled. There nevertheless was such a shortage of teachers for German schools that in 1942 the Germans were reduced to employing Czechs to teach the German language in German schools.

b. Lower Schools

German schools in the Protectorate were completely integrated into the Nazi educational system, and their diplomas were officially recognized as equivalent to those granted by corresponding schools in the Reich.

The process of integration among the Czech schools was slower. Sweeping proposals for reforming the whole system were made, but their execution was delayed by Czech resistance (led in no small measure by the teachers and students themselves), by difficulties due to the war (shortage of paper for new textbooks, etc.), and by the teacher shortage. By the end of 1943, however, the major part of the reform, at least in its technical aspects, seems to have been completed. The general aim, as stated on many occasions by Moravec, was to remove the last vestiges of the "liberal-democratic ideal of universal education," and instead make the Czech system conform to the Nazi ideal of "selective education," i.e., education for gifted pupils only. Moravec decreed that the maximum annual average of secondary school graduates in the Protectorate should be only five thousand, whereas eleven thousand graduated in 1941.

Statistics show that the total number of Czech schools was not appreciably reduced. However, the entire administrative organization of the schools was revamped to correspond to the German system. The teaching of German language and literature was greatly expanded at the expense of other subjects such as religious instruction, the Czech language, history, and physical training. There was steadily increasing emphasis on vocational training as opposed to "pure intellectualism." The number of pupils in ordinary schools was reduced, but the number in various types of trade schools greatly increased. Several new trade schools were opened for Czech pupils. The shortage of teachers led to the creation of a new category of "school helpers" -- young students with only a secondary school diploma, or even, in exceptional cases, only a grammar school education; they began teaching in elementary schools after a three-month training course, becoming full-fledged teachers two years later. The same system was applied in Germany.

c. The Introduction of Special German School Types

The Germans evidently were not satisfied with the progress made, and after January 1944 several measures were taken toward the complete Germanization of Czech educational institutions and the introduction of Party leadership schools.

In addition to the establishment of the Adolf Hitler School in Jihlava (see above), a National Political Educational Institute (Napoli) was established at Kutna Hora. The Napolis were under the jurisdiction of a special Inspectorate, headed by SS *Obergruppenführer* August Heissmeyer, and were designed for the training of future police and military leaders.

In Prague, a special secondary school, modeled after the German *Hauptschule*, a typical product of the Nazi era, was established. The alleged aim of the school was to provide for secondary education to a broader strata of the population and to impart the fundamentals of secondary learning in four instead of the customary eight years. The school was intended ultimately to replace the present type of secondary schools and to become a tool for the Nazification of Czech youth.

J. THE TREATMENT OF JEWS IN THE PROTECTORATE

Anti-Jewish legislation in the Protectorate closely followed the pattern of the Reich, except for the fact that the decrees in the Protectorate stemmed from three sources: (1) those issued by the Reichsprotektor; (2) those issued by the native central Government; (3) the host of oppressive legislation handed down by Reich officials, many of which are unpublished.

The major anti-Jewish decrees promulgated in the name of the Reichsprotektor dealt with the following matters:

(1) The status of Jewish property (21 June 1939)
(2) The displacement of Jewish employees (23 October 1939 and 14 September 1940)
(3) The elimination of Jews from economic life (26 January 1940)
(4) The status of Jews and Jewish organizations (ordinance of 5 March 1940 which concentrated the handling of Jewish Affairs in the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Prague)
(5) The tenancy of Jews (7 October 1940 and 5 February 1941)
(6) The protection of "German blood and honor" (16 February 1940)
(7) The wearing of the Star of David (1 September 1941)
(8) The edict of 16 February 1942 "concerning measures for the allocation of Jews in closed settlements"

The impotent Czech government was forced to take similar measures. Jews were barred from public life by the ordinance of 4 July 1939, which was not published until 24 April 1940. Aping Nazi Germany, a decree for the "protection of Czech blood and honor" was promulgated on

7 March 1942. An ordinance of 17 July 1942 deprived Jews of all claims to social security, overtime pay, and other rights accorded to Czech workers. Jewish children were excluded from Czech schools on 15 August 1940.

By early October 1941 a drive started to expel the Jews from the larger cities of the Protectorate. The total number of confessing Jews in Bohemia and Moravia was about 130,000, of whom 20,000 were recent refugees. By the end of 1942 only an estimated ten to fifteen thousand remained in the Protectorate. About twenty thousand are estimated to have been sent to the concentration camp in Theresienstadt (Sudetenland), which by a decree of 16 February 1942, had been transformed into a ghetto under the supervision of the Gestapo.

Although no special corporation for "aryanization" was established in the Protectorate, a special German organization, Hadega (Handelsgesellschaft) was set up in Prague for the registration of property owned by Jews. Nazi legislation empowered the Reichsprotektor or his agents to appoint "trustees" to liquidate, manage, or supervise Jewish business in the interests of the Reich. The Reichsprotektor's decree of 26 January 1940, and the orders which followed and implemented it at intervals, made it "legal" for any business to be closed to "Jewish enterprise," and consequently for any Jewish enterprises already established to be ordered liquidated or, with special permission, "transferred" to non-Jews.

Enterprises were aryanized either by being turned over directly into German hands or, more frequently, by the appointment of German "trustees" by the Oberlandrat. Most of the aryanized firms were turned over to Germans, but there are also instances of transfer of Jewish firms to Czechs.

K. THE ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROTECTORATE

1. General Characteristics

The economic capacity of the Protectorate was one of the main reasons for its occupation by the Germans. The Protectorate has a well developed heavy industry which includes such plants as the Skoda works, the Zbrojovka, the Cesko-Moravska Kolben Danek, the Tatra, Walter, and Praga automobile factories, and a number of aircraft plants. Its geographic location long placed it outside the range of effective bomber attacks and therefore permitted the transfer of many industrial enterprises from the Reich and Austria to the Protectorate. Because of these factors the Protectorate became one of the more important industrial areas of the Reich, supplying a substantial part of the armor plates, airplane engines, heavy tanks, small and large arms, and ammunition used by the Wehrmacht.

Because of the importance of the Protectorate economy to the German war effort the integration with the Reich in this field was the closest. Full coordination was attained (a) through the expropriation of Czech- and Jewish-owned industrial enterprises, real property, and banks, and the acquisition of these by German holding companies or individuals; and (b) through the extension of the Reich economic control system and organization over the Protectorate.

2. The Extension of Reich Controls over the Protectorate Economy

The Protectorate was in a customs union with the Reich; it formed a regional economic unit and was administered in the same manner as were the economic units (which correspond to the area of the armament districts) of the Reich proper.

Supreme control rested with the Reich Ministries, of which the most important was the Ministry of Armaments and Munitions, headed by Albert Speer. It controlled the Protectorate industry through a regional agency, the Armament Commission. In addition other German authorities, the German Ministry of State, and special delegates attached to it or responsible to the Minister only, exercised control functions over certain phases of th Protectorate economy. The Czech autonomous authorities, Ministries and Central Offices were subordinated to the German authorities, and all but one perform functions only of minor importance. The exception was the Czech Ministry of Economy and Labor, created in 1942 in place of the former Ministry of Social Welfare and Ministry of Commerce and Industry. This was in effect a German agency, headed by the Reich German Walter Bertsch. It fulfilled the combined functions of the Gau Economic Chamber and of the regional Labor Trustees, and although nominally under the Czech state president, and subject to the jurisdiction of the German Minister of State, it received orders directly from the Reich Ministry of Armaments and Munitions and the Reich Labor Trustee.

Under the governmental controls the Protectorate economy was organized along the German model into compulsory corporative associations.

3. Government Controls of Economy

a. German Controls

(1) The Armament Commission

The Armament Commission was the regional agency of the Speer Ministry. It was the supreme controlling agency of the Protectorate industry and was responsible for the planning of its coordination and full exploitation for the German war machine. The Armament Commission was headed by Generalmajor Hernekamp, Chef der Rüstungsinspektion für Böhmen und Mähren, and was totally independent of the German Minister of State. The members of the commission included Othmar Kallina, special representative of the Speer Ministry in the Protectorate; Rittershausen, the Chief of the Office for Public Contracts; Walter Bertsch, Minister of

Economy and Labor; and Bernhard Adolf, Rüstungsobmann (armament chief) and president of the Central Association of Industry. The presence of Bertsch on the commission insured the full cooperation of the Czech autonomous economic agencies. Bernhard Adolf represented the industrial self-government agencies on the commission and was responsible for the proper execution of the orders of the commission by these agencies.

(2) The German Ministry of State

The controls of the German Ministry of State were exercised through three departments (Economics and Labor, Food Supply and Agriculture, and Finance). The functions of these agencies were largely directed toward the supervision of the Protectorate economic administration.

(3) Special Delegates and Offices

Certain vital economic branches, such as the distribution of coal and fuel oil, the control of machine production and export, and the import of agricultural goods were administered by a number of special delegates and offices directly responsible to the German Minister of State.

(a) The Coal Office (Kohlenwirtschaftsstelle). Established on 5 September 1939, the Coal Office was in charge of the production and allocation of bituminous coal, hard coal, and other solid fuels. All coal-producing areas and distributing and consuming agencies came under its jurisdiction. Its head was appointed by the German Minister of State and was responsible solely to him. It was headed in October 1944 by Eilers.

The Petroleum Delegate (Beauftragter für die Mineralölwirtschaft). This office, created in 1939 and headed since by Gerhard Eger, was in charge of the production and distribution of fuels and oils. It controlled the fuel oil rationing and was also in charge of the production of tank cars, etc.

(b) The Delegate for Machinery Production (Bevollmächtigter für die Maschinenproduktion). Headed by Kathke, this office was in charge of the production and distribution of new machinery and tools. The delegate was responsible to the Minister of State.

(c) The Delegate for Motor Vehicles (Bevollmächtigte für das Kraftfahrwesen). The position was created in 1941 and in October 1944 filled by Ringhoffer, a Sudeten German, owner of the Ringhoffer Tatra works. The functions of the delegate included the coordination of the Protectorate motor vehicle industry with the Reich. He determined the type, the model, and the power capacity of all trucks, cars, motorcycles, and trailers to be produced. He decided the factories which would be allowed to manufacture motors for motorcycles.

(d) The Bohemian-Moravian Import and Export Office for Agricultural Products (Böhmisch Mährische Ein-und-Ausfuhrstelle für Erzeugnisse der Ernährungs und Landwirtschaft). This office, also under the German Minister of State, represented in the Protectorate the various agricultural Reichsstellen. Its main function was the supervision of the export of agricultural products from the Protectorate.

(e) The Central Office for Public Contracts (Zentralstelle für öffentliche Aufträge). Every firm in the Protectorate was obliged to clear every contract made with any public agency (army, government offices, etc.) through this office, headed by Rittershausen.

(f) The Delegate for Consumers' Cooperatives (Beauftragter für die Verbrauchergenossenschaften). The delegate was charged with coordinating the activities of the cooperatives relating to supplying the population with food and consumption goods, and to their integration into the war economy.

(g) The Regional Delegate of the Central Office for Generators (Länderbeauftragter der Zentralstelle für Generatoren). This official in 1944 took over the tasks formerly handled by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and other Czech organs in connection with installing gas generators to replace gasoline engines.

b. Czech Control Agencies

(1) The Ministry of Economy and Labor

The Ministry was created on 19 January 1942. It was the most important supervisory organ of the Protectorate economy. The Minister, Walter Bertsch, a Reich German, operated through nine departments in the Ministry, and was in charge of all matters concerning trade, industry, monetary and private insurance, social security insurance, and labor. The Ministry was mainly responsible for the integration of the Protectorate economy with the Reich, and served as liaison office between the Reich Ministries and Protectorate institutions.

Attached to the Ministry was a Supervisory Office (Ueberwachungstelle) headed by the Reich German von Schmoeller. The main functions of the office at first included the distribution of raw materials with the exception of coal and petroleum, which were in the charge of special German delegates. Later the supervisory office assumed other functions and by a decree of June 1943 it was charged with the regulation of industrial production, distribution, marketing, consumption, and finishing of all goods. It operated with the aid of Preliminary Examination Bureaus (Vorprüfstellen) attached to the various industrial groups (see below). In May 1944 the functions of the Supervisory Office were transferred to Production Committees, which were entrusted with the planning and execution of regulations pertaining to industrial production, allocation of raw materials, marketing, and consumption, but were under the control of the

Supervisory Office.

(2) Other Government Agencies

(a) The Supreme Price Control Office. This was an autonomous agency directly under the Czech Prime Minister. It controlled all prices in the Protectorate except wages and salaries, which were fixed by the Ministry of Economy and Labor. It was headed by a Reich German, von Busse, who was also head of the Price Section in the German Ministry of State.

(b) The Land Office for Bohemia and Moravia. This agency was created by a government decree of 24 April 1942. It took over some functions of the Ministry of Agriculture; among others it was in charge of property expropriations of farmers and of placing commissars (Vertrauensmänner) on estates.

4. The Corporative Organization of the Protectorate Economy

The German system of compulsory corporative organization of all branches of economy was gradually introduced in the Protectorate. In a few instances the jurisdiction of Reich economic organizations was extended over the Protectorate. Thus the Gemeinschaft Schuhe and the Gemeinschaft Glas included all Protectorate plants and shops operating in the fields of shoe and glass production respectively. As a rule, however, the compulsory industrial, trade, commercial, agricultural, and financial organizations established in the Protectorate were not dependent on their Reich equivalents. They were patterned after the Reich organizations and performed similar functions.

The central corporations modeled after the German pattern included the following:

Central Association of Industry (Zentralverband der Industries), headed by Bernhard Adolf, with twenty-one Wirtschaftsgruppen, whose directorates were appointed by Minister of Economy and Labor

Central Association of Commerce (Zentralverband des Handels)
Central Association of Trade (Zentralverband des Handwerks)
Central Association of Tourist Traffic (Zentralverband der Fremdenverkehrwirtschaft)
Central Association of Transportation (Zentralverband des Verkehrs)
Central Association of Banking (Zentralverband der Geldwirtschaft)
Central Association of Private Insurance (Zentralverband der Vertragsversicherung)

5. Rationalization of Industrial Controls

For a considerable time industrial controls in the Protectorate descended from various government sources -- the Armament Commission, the Czech Ministry of Economy and Labor -- and from industrial self-government agencies to the individual plants without apparent coordination. During 1944 attempts were made to expand and rationalize industrial self-government and thereby reduce the multiplicity of controls and channels of administration.

a. Production Committees

In May 1944 a decree of the Minister of Economy and Labor created nine production committees to take over from the Supervisory Office and the Wirtschaftsgruppen the functions pertaining to the control of industrial production and allocation of raw materials.

The nine production committees embraced the following fields:

Iron and metal ore production
Processing of lumber
Ceramics, stones, and clays
Processing of leather
Clothing
Processing of paper
Printing
Glass
Chemicals

The production committees were the executive agencies of the Supervisory Office. They were authorized to issue executive orders within their field of jurisdiction. The heads of the committees were Czech industrialists appointed by the Minister of Economy and Labor. The committees could work directly with individual plants but as a rule they operated through the offices of the Hauptgruppen (formerly the Wirtschaftsgruppen).

b. Reorganization of the Central Association of Industry

A further step in the rationalization of industrial controls was taken in August 1944 when the twenty-one Wirtschaftsgruppen were organized into six functional Hauptgruppen, each having jurisdiction over several allied industries.

The six Hauptgruppen comprised the following:

1. Mining, iron and metal, electricity
2. Building, stone and earth, wood processing, lumber
3. Textile, leather, clothing
4. Printing, paper
5. Consumer goods, spirits, mills, brewery malt
6. Glass, chemicals

Each Hauptgruppe was headed by a general manager (Hauptgeschäftsführer), who was simultaneously the representative of the Rüstungsobmann and of the Delegate for the Rationalization of the Protectorate Economy. Individual plants received all orders and instructions from this one source.

L. CONTROL OF LABOR IN THE PROTECTORATE

1. Government Controls

a. The Ministry of Economy and Labor

Manpower in the Protectorate was harnessed directly to the needs of the German war machine and was controlled in the final analysis by German officials. The whole manpower program of the Reich and its occupied territories was under Gauleiter Fritz Sauckel, the General Plenipotentiary for Labor Allocation. His representative in the Protectorate was Walter Bertsch, Minister of Economy and Labor.

Bertsch's functions were: (1) to direct labor allocation, including vocational guidance, for new entrants into the labor market; (2) to direct the wage policy and control working conditions; (3) to direct the unemployment compensation program and social insurance; (4) to regulate factory inspection measures; (5) to direct the placement of Protectorate workers outside the Protectorate; (6) to recruit foreign (non-German) workers for the Protectorate. With the exception of the social insurance program, which was carried out by the social insurance institutions of the Czech Ministries, all the above functions of the Minister could be delegated to the Labor Offices (Arbeitsämter).

b. The Labor Offices

The Labor Offices were set up by decree in 1939 in order to replace the public employment offices of the Republic. In 1942 the Labor Offices took over the functions of factory supervision formerly performed by the factory supervisory offices (Gewerbeaufsichtsämter). In October 1944 there were seventeen Labor Offices, located in the major cities of the Protectorate. The functions with regard to vocational replacement, wage policy, and unemployment compensation were delegated to the Offices by the Minister.

Under his direction the organization of the Protectorate labor controls was assimilated to the German model. Conscription, emergency service, and wage freeze decrees were promulgated. The Work Book was introduced and made compulsory for all but a very few workers. As in Germany a compulsory Labor Service was set up for all boys and girls over seventeen. The Total Mobilization Decrees of 29 January 1943 and July 1944, requiring compulsory registration for work of all men between sixteen and sixty years of age, and women between seventeen and fifty, applied also in the Protectorate.

2. The German Labor Front (DAF)

The German Labor Front had responsibility for all Germans employed in the Protectorate. Its position was defined in great detail by a decree of 14 September 1939, "Concerning the Care of Productive Germans in the Protectorate" (Ueber die Betreuung der schaffenden Deutschen im Protektorat). 1/

According to this decree, in all firms where the employer and the workers were German, the DAF took complete charge, appointing a Plant Foreman (Betriebsobmann) and a Council of Trust (Vertrauensrat), subject to the approval of the Reichsprotektor. In firms where the employer was German, but the workers were of mixed nationality, the DAF also took charge, with the same officials, but its activities did not extend to the Czechs among the workers (who were cared for by the Czech labor organization, NOÚZ). If there were less than five German workers in such a plant, no Plant Foreman was appointed, but the German workers were under the control of the local DAF official (Ortsobmann). Firms with a Czech employer and mixed or purely Czech working force were not considered as "German firms" and did not come within the scope of DAF activities; however, if there were five or more German workers they were entitled to representation by a

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1/ VBlRProt., 1939, p. 142.

Spokesman (Sprecher), appointed by the Reichsprotektor on nomination by the local DAF official.

The administration and activities of the DAF's Protectorate section were similar to those of the parent organization in the Reich. There was a branch of the DAF subdivision, Kraft durch Freude, in the Protectorate. The DAF also cooperated with other organizations for various purposes. For example, it operated hostels for German apprentices and young German workers near some of the big industrial plants, jointly with the Hitler Youth, and cooperated with the Czech trade-union organization, NOÚZ, in operating training courses for Protectorate workers.

3. The Czech Workers' Organization (NOÚZ)

Workers in Czechoslovakia possessed one of the most highly organized and active trade-union movements in the world. Before 1939, more than half the employed population in Bohemia-Moravia belonged to trade unions. There was, however, no single national trade-union association; the numerous small unions were organized into fourteen national associations, each connected with a particular political party or other group (Social Democrats, Catholics, etc.). After Munich, negotiations were begun to form a unified national association, which was founded in March 1939 as the NOÚZ (National Association of Employed Persons). Because of the resistance of the workers, who resigned from their unions in large numbers, no true unification resulted from this move. It was not until the fall of 1942 that the remaining twenty-eight trade unions were dissolved, their assets transferred to the NOÚZ, and the NOÚZ itself reorganized on the "leadership principle," with Václav Stočes as its head. Czech newspapers reported at the time that Czech workers had at last recognized the utility (Zweckmässigkeit) of the trade unions, and that "many have returned to their ranks." However, the political temper of the workers was such, and their importance to German war production was so great, that no attempt was made to make NOÚZ membership compulsory. Workers were "invited" to join, and much propaganda effort was expended on proving to them that the NOÚZ was "a truly creative organization," instead of trying to force them into it willy-nilly. 1/

The NOÚZ came to parallel closely the German Labor Front in organization and methods, with the single exception of not having compulsory membership. Its chief activities were cultural and educational. It cooperated with the DAF in organizing vocational training courses and workers' hostels. Since the beginning of 1943 it was also responsible for the welfare of Czech workers in Germany, and it maintained liaison offices in DAF headquarters in the Reich.

German supervision over the activities of the NOÚZ was exercised by the Liaison Office to the Czech Trade Unions in the German Ministry of State, headed by Rudolf Kasper.

1/ In the spring of 1944 the NOÚZ was reported to have had 525,000 members.

M. THE ADMINISTRATION OF FINANCE

1. Finance

a. German Controls

The German Ministry of State handled two financial matters: (1) state revenues the administration of which was taken over by the Reich; (2) supervision of Czech fiscal and financial affairs.

In the categories of revenue taken over by the Reich were the monopolies formerly administered by the Czechoslovak State (tobacco, spirits, etc.) certain excise taxes (on beer, tobacco, sugar, playing cards), and customs duties.

For the purpose of collecting the taxes and duties the Protectorate was designated as an Oberfinanzbezirk, headed by an Oberfinanzpräsident, whose seat was in Prague. The taxes and duties at the frontiers were collected by Reich officials of the Reich finance administration; in the interior of the country the collection was entrusted to Czech agencies, which turned the revenues over to the Reich.

b. Czech Controls

Aside from the above-mentioned tasks all financial matters were handled by the Czech Ministry of Finance. Under the Ministry operated the Provincial Finance Directorates (Finanzlandesdirektionen), located in Prague and Brünn. On the lowest level were the Offices for Fees (Gebührenämter -- Prag Mitte, Prag Land, and Brünn), the Tax Administrations (Steueradministrationen), and the Tax Offices (Steuerämter). The Steuerämter were as a rule located in towns with district courts, and they acted as collecting and bookkeeping agents of the Tax Administrations.

2. Money and Banking in the Protectorate

a. The National Bank

Among the first administrative acts of the Germans after the occupation of the Protectorate was the appointment of the Reichsbankdirektor Müller as commissioner of the National Bank in Prague. The gold and foreign exchange reserve of the National Bank was turned over to the Germans.

The National Bank was deprived of its power to negotiate foreign exchange agreements on behalf of the government, and this function was taken over by the German authorities. Virtually all foreign exchange traffic was centralized in the Deutsche Verrechnungskasse in Berlin.

b. Currency

German currency was declared legal tender in the Protectorate at the rate of one Reichsmark to ten crowns. The Germans initiated a National Bank Law according to which the claims of the Protectorate against the Reich, accumulated as a result of the purchases made by Reich Government authorities and private firms, were considered legal cover for newly issued banknotes.

c. Control of the Protectorate Banking

Protectorate banking was subjected by the Germans to repeated measures of reorganization. Ultimate supervision rested with the Ministry of Economy and Labor. According to the German model a corporative organization of the Protectorate banking was introduced. The key positions in the corporative organizations were filled by Germans, who thus had direct control over the banking of the Protectorate. In addition German banks acquired capital ownership in a large number of commercial banks, thus gaining even more effective control. Only one large bank, the Zivnostenske banka (Gewerbe bank) is free of such control. The reserve funds of the local savings and cooperative banks were deposited with German-controlled regional centers, while their liquid funds were placed with German institutions.

Appendix 1. GERMAN TEXT OF THE PROTECTORATE DECREE

Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers

über das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren

Vom 16. März 1939

Artikel I

(1) Die von den deutschen Truppen im März 1939 besetzten Landesteile der ehemaligen Tschecho-Slowakischen Republik gehören von jetzt ab zum Gebiet des Grossdeutschen Reiches und treten als "Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren" unter dessen Schutz.

(2) Soweit die Verteidigung des Reiches es erfordert, trifft der Führer und Reichskanzler für einzelne Teile dieser Gebeite eine hiervon abweichende Regelung.

Artikel 2

(1) Die volksdeutschen Bewohner des Protektorates werden deutsche Staatsangehörige und nach den Vorschriften des Reichsbürgergesetzes vom 15. September 1935 (Reichsgesetzbl. I, S. 1146) Reichsbürger. Für sie gelten daher auch die Bestimmungen zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre. Sie unterstehen deutscher Gerichtsbarkeit.

(2) Die übrigen Bewohner von Böhmen und Mähren werden Staatsangehörige des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren.

Artikel 3

(1) Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren ist autonom und verwaltet sich selbst.

(2) Es übt seine ihm im Rahmen des Protektorates zustehenden Hoheitsrechte im Einklang mit den politischen, militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Belangen des Reiches aus.

(3) Diese Hoheitsrechte werden durch eigene Organe und eigene Behörden mit eigenen Beamten wahrgenommen.

Artikel 4

Das Oberhaupt der autonomen Verwaltung des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren geniesst den Schutz und die Ehrenrechte eines Staatsoberhauptes. Das Oberhaupt des Protektorates bedarf für die Ausübung seines Amtes des Vertrauens des Führers und Reichskanzlers.

Artikel 5

(1) Als Wahrer der Reichsinteressen ernennt der Führer und Reichskanzler einen "Reichsprotektor in Böhmen und Mähren." Sein Amtssistz ist Prag.

(2) Der Reichsprotektor hat als Vertreter des Führers und Reichskanzlers und als Beauftragter der Reichsregierung die Aufgabe, für die Beachtung der politischen Richtlinien des Führers und Reichskanzlers zu sorgen.

(3) Die Mitglieder der Regierung des Protektorates werden vom Reichsprotektor bestätigt. Die Bestätigung kann zurückgenommen werden.

(4) Der Reichsprotektor ist befugt, sich über alle Massnahmen der Regierung des Protektorates unterrichten zu lassen und ihr Ratschläge zu erteilen. Er kann gegen Massnahmen, die das Reich zu schädigen geeignet sind, Einspruch einlegen und bei Gefahr im Verzuge die im gemeinsamen Interesse notwendigen Anordnungen treffen.

(5) Die Verkündung von Gesetzen, Verordnungen und sonstigen Rechtsvorschriften sowie der Vollzug von Verwaltungsmassnahmen und rechtskräftigen gerichtlichen Urteilen sind auszusetzen, wenn der Reichsprotektor Einspruch einlegt.

Artikel 6

(1) Die auswärtigen Angelegenheiten des Protektorates, insbesondere den Schutz seiner Staatsangehörigen im Ausland, nimmt das Reich wahr. Das Reich wird die auswärtigen Angelegenheiten so führen, wie es dem gemeinsamen Interesse entspricht.

(2) Das Protektorat erhält einen Vertreter bei der Reichsregierung mit der Amtsbezeichnung "Gesandter."

Artikel 7

(1) Das Reich gewährt dem Protektorat den militärischen Schutz.

(2) In Ausübung dieses Schutzes unterhält das Reich im Protektorat Garnisonen und militärische Anlagen.

(3) Für die Aufrechterhaltung der inneren Sicherheit und Ordnung kann das Protektorat eigene Verbände aufstellen. Organisation, Stärkezahl und Bewaffnung bestimmt die Reichsregierung.

Artikel 8

Das Reich führt die unmittelbare Aufsicht über das Verkehrswesen sowie das Postund Fernmeldewesen.

Artikel 9

Das Protektorat gehört zum Zollgebiet des deutschen Reiches und untersteht seiner Zollhoheit.

Artikel 10

(1) Gesetzliches Zahlungsmittel ist neben der Reichsmark bis auf weiteres die Krone.

(2) Das Verhältinis beider Währungen zueinander bestimmt die Reichsregierung.

Artikel 11

(1) Das Reich kann Rechtsvorschriften mit Gültigkeit für das Protektorat erlassen, soweit das gemeinsame Interesse es erfordert.

(2) Soweit ein gemeinsames Bedürfnis besteht, kann das Reich Verwaltungszweige in eigene Verwaltung übernehmen und die dafür erforderlichen reichseigene Behörden einrichten.

(3) Die Reichsregierung kann die zur Aufrechterhaltung der Sicherheit und Ordnung erforderlichen Massnahmen treffen.

Artikel 12

Das derzeit in Böhmen und Mähren geltende Recht bleibt in Kraft, soweit es nicht dem Sinne der Übernahme des Schutzes durch das Deutsche Reich widerspricht.

Artikel 13

Der Reichsminister des Innern erlässt im Einvernehmen mit den beteiligten Reichsministern die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung dieses Erlasses erforderlichen Rechts--und Verwaltungsvorschriften.

Appendix 2. JURISDICTION OF BEZIRKSHAUPTMÄNNER - RAV, 15 JUNE 1942 [1]

	Seat	Political districts included
Bohemia		
1.	Prag-Land-Nord	Praha venkov sever (Prag-Land-Nord); Praha (Hauptstadt Prag); Praha venkov jih (Prag-Land-Sud); Sedlčany (Seltschan); Benešov (Beneschau)
2.	Kladno	Kladno; Roudnice n. Lab. (Raudnitz); Louny (Laun); Slaný (Schlan); Rakonice (Rakonitz); Beroun (Beraun)
3.	Kolin	Kolín (Kolin); Čáslav (Tschaslau); Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg); Český Brod (Böhm.-Brod); Mladá Boleslav (Jungbunzlau); Mělník (Melnik); Brandýs n. Lab. (Brandeis)
4.	Königgrätz	Hradec Králové (Königgrätz); Dvůr Králové (Königinhof); Náchod (Nachod); Rýchnov n. Kn. (Reichenau)
5.	Pardubitz	Pardubice (Pardubitz); Chrudim; Výsoké Mýto (Hohenmauth); Litomyšl (Leitomischl)
6.	Jitschin	Jičín (Jitschin); Poděbrady (Podiebrad); Nový Bydžov (Neu-Bidschow); Semily (Semil); Turnov (Turnau)
7.	Pilsen-Land	Plzeň venkov (Pilsen-Land); Plzeň (Pilsen-Stadt); Kralovice (Kralowitz)
8.	Klattau	Klatovy (Klattau); Domažlice (Taus); Sušice (Schüttenhofen); Strakonice (Strakonitz); Písek (Písek)
9.	Budweis	Budějovice (Budweis); Treboň (Wittingau)
10.	Tábor	Tábor (Tabor); Pelhřimov (Pilgrams); Humpolec (Gumpolds); Ledeč n. Sáz. (Ledetsch)
Moravia		
11.	Brünn-Land	Brno venkov (Brünn-Land); Brno (Brünn-Stadt); Boskovice (Boskowitz); Vyskov (Wischau)
12.	Zlín	Zlín (Zlin); Uherský Brod (Ung.-Brod); Uherské Hradiště (Ung.-Hradisch); Kyjov (Gaya); Hodonín (Göding)

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[1] Taschenbuch für Verwaltungsbeamte, ... 1942, p. 766.